DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 175 734 SO 010 212

TITLE	International Studies in Six European Countries--United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, Italy. Reports to the Ford Foundation.
INSTITUTION	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Jun 76
NOTE	316p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Ford Foundation, P.O. Box 559, Naugatuck, Connecticut 06770 ($7.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Comparative Education; *Cross Cultural Studies; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *International Education; International Educational Exchange; *International Relations; *International Studies; Research and Development Centers; Social Science Research; *World Affairs; World Problems
IDENTIFIERS	France; Germany; Italy; Netherlands; Sweden; United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

This series of papers was commissioned to improve understanding and appreciation of common issues of concern in international studies confronting both North American and Western European scholars. Six countries were surveyed, each by a native scholar in the field of international studies: United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden, and Italy. The papers express a wide range of views on substantive issues, on the ordering of research priorities, and on how national academic gaps and weaknesses might be best overcome. The consensus of the authors is that there is a need to strengthen international studies on both sides of the Atlantic to contribute to enhanced intellectual exchange and improved mutual understanding. The papers vary in style, organization, and approach, and reflect the often sharply different patterns in academic and historical conditions of the countries studied. Subjects not covered are international economics, Soviet and East European studies, and United States studies since they have been studied under other research projects. Institutes and centers specializing in international studies are listed at the end of each paper. (Author/BC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED175734

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Carolee E. Iltis
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN SIX EUROPEAN COUNTRIES--

United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany,
Sweden, Netherlands, Italy

Reports to the Ford Foundation

SO 010 212

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Main entry under title:

International studies in six European countries.

Includes Bibliographical references.
1. International relations--Study and teaching--Europe. I. Ford Foundation.
JX1293.E8157 327'.07'114 76-54268
ISBN 0-916584-03-8

Table of Contents

		Page
Preface		v
United Kingdom	Larry Johnston	1
France	Jean-Pierre Deriennic and Dominique Moisi	37
Federal Republic of Germany	Gebhard L. Schweigler	69
Sweden	Leif Lewin and Lars Nord	161
Netherlands	Philip P. Everts	191
Italy	Allessandro Silj	261

PREFACE

The papers contained in this collection of essays were originally commissioned for internal Ford Foundation staff discussion with the purpose of contributing to improved Foundation understanding of the state of international studies in Western Europe. They describe the work being undertaken in this field at leading institutions of higher learning in the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, France and the Federal Republic of Germany. The original drafts were discussed last year at an informal seminar in Paris by a small group of European and American scholars concerned with this subject who met with the authors and with Foundation officials, and it was then decided that revised versions of the reports would be of interest to the wider community of scholars and practitioners.

International relations and geographical area studies have been a major program concern of The Ford Foundation for more than two decades, and Western European as well as North American institutions have received substantial support from the Foundation for work in these fields. In 1974 the Foundation began a review of the full range of its past support to international studies programs in order to identify guidelines and criteria for programs activities which might be undertaken within the constraints of altered priorities and a more restricted budget. As this internal assessment progressed, it seemed desirable to gain a better appreciation of common issues of concern in international studies confronting the scholarly communities of North America and Western Europe. These papers were written as one means of responding to this need.

Each of the authors was given free rein to survey the field in his own country in his own manner with the single proviso that certain subjects--international economics, Soviet and East European studies, and U.S. studies--need not be covered because they had already been studied under other Foundation sponsored research projects. The opinions expressed are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Ford Foundation. The reports on Germany, Italy, Holland and Sweden were written in English although this is not the native language of the authors in question; the report on France has been translated from the original French. The report on the Federal Republic of Germany is an adaptation of an earlier work prepared in Germany by Dr. Gebhart Schweigler for the Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft fur Auswärtige Politik (DGAP--Research Institute of the German Society for Foreign Affairs).

These individual papers vary in style, organization and approach; they reflect the often sharply different patterns in academic and historical conditions of the countries studied. As would be expected in any multi-country analysis of so complex and ramified a subject, the papers express a wide range of views on substantive issues, on the ordering of research priorities, and on how best national academic gaps and weaknesses might be overcome. Despite inevitable differences of emphasis and approach, however, there is broad unanimity on the part of all authors about the need to strengthen international studies on both sides of the Atlantic to contribute to enhanced intellectual exchange and improved mutual understanding. It is in this spirit that these papers are offered to a wider body of readers.

David Heaps
The Ford Foundation
June, 1976

UNITED KINGDOM

1. Introduction: The scope of international studies in the United Kingdom

This paper attempts to give a general outline of international studies in the United Kingdom.[1] It describes, in broad terms, current research and teaching activities and offers some impressions about the way in which work appears to be developing, as well as directions in which scholars think it ought to progress. International studies is a term covering a broad area and embracing a large number of academic disciplines. Moreover, it includes research of many types which in Britain is carried out on a small scale in a variety of institutional settings. It would be a lengthy and difficult task to bring together all the information necessary for a comprehensive inventory of research and teaching activities in international studies, and this essay makes no claim to completeness in that respect. Rather, it describes the milieu in which these activities are carried out, some of the problems involved, and trends in the field.

A basic difficulty in any study of this type is that of defining its scope. The field of international studies has no clear lines of demarcation; it can be exceptionally broad or quite narrow, depending on the viewpoint of the definer. There have been a number of attempts to circumscribe the field. Perhaps the most influential of these defines international studies by subject matter; taking the unit, usually institutional, as the crucial point of definition and as the focus of investigation. Thus, the traditional concern of international relations scholars has been, and frequently still is, the state.

Emphasis has shifted, however, and views about appropriate subject-matter have been modified. The state is no longer considered

---

United Kingdom
Larry Johnston, Lecturer in Politics, New College, Oxford.

the sine qua non of international studies. It is still a dominant element and regarded by many as the single most important factor in world affairs, but interest has broadened to include such 'actors' as international trade union organisations, multi-national corporations, and other agencies which may be virtually independent of national boundaries. Indeed it has been remarked that the field must now be taken to encompass patterns of relationships of which state relationships 'may form a central part, or a minor part, or may be relevant hardly at all'.[2]

Some scholars contend that definition of international studies in terms of subject is not only a hindrance to understanding but also leads inevitably to concentration on international history or to analysis of current affairs when what is needed is greater stress on the 'discipline' and thus on theory and analysis. While that is not the dominant view in the profession, it is a significant one which seems to have had an impact, particularly on younger scholars, and will be discussed at greater length in the section on research.

Problems of demarcation are important and can be used to clarify an entire range of issues connected with international studies. On the other hand, it is not possible in a study as brief as this to consider all the merits of various approaches to the field. Debate about these will continue, but in order to assess the field it is necessary to transcend theoretical controversies and to decide, even if arbitrarily, the practical question of what should be included in a report on international studies. That is true both in attempting to determine boundaries for the field as a whole and classifying specific research projects. The need for pragmatic decisions is especially great in Britain where research efforts are diffuse, largely uncoordinated, and often carried out by scholars acting independently within university teaching departments.

In that light it seems appropriate and convenient to discuss work concerned with international studies under three main headings. The categories are bound to overlap in some instances, and not all the work in two of the groupings is relevant. Nevertheless, a division of this type makes the topic more manageable and, it is hoped, somewhat clearer. The following fields will be examined:

1.1 International relations

This is the field of international studies in the traditional sense and is the category which in all respects falls unquestionably within the scope of this report. It brings together all the work of a theoretical and empirical nature concerned with the changing pattern of relationships which constitute what may loosely be called international affairs. Problems of definition have already been mentioned, but basic components may be taken to include international and diplomatic history and international law, as well as international politics and economics. Scholars in the field are concerned to understand the international system by focusing on any aspect of the system, whether the state or an 'actor' within the state, or indeed of transnational character, which can illuminate the problems of international society.

This definition leaves open for the moment the question whether the study of purely domestic policies or institutions can be regarded as properly belonging to the field of international studies. However, the boundaries certainly extend to questions of theory and methodology, as well as to war and strategic studies, crisis management, conflict and peace studies. Work in these fields is usually undertaken by political scientists, although economists, sociologists, and lawyers also participate.

1.2. Area studies

The field of area studies encompasses interdisciplinary work on particular foreign areas, preferably although not always, involving more than one country. This work is not necessarily limited to recent times. Historical studies are considered a legitimate activity within the field.

In practice area studies and development studies are frequently confused. It is true that the fields may overlap at times, but they are quite distinct. Area studies, for example, is a broader field in geographical terms; although development studies concentrate on the poorer nations of the world, work in area studies extends to such developed regions as North America and Western Europe. In addition, area studies tend normally to be more academic and less policy-relevant than development studies.

It is evident that not all social scientists engaged in field work overseas are connected with area studies, nor can all work in area studies be considered an integral part of international studies. Studies of the internal problems of a country are not necessarily international simply because they are carried out abroad, and it would be inappropriate to include these in the framework of international studies. Very little has been done in this paper to isolate the purely international aspects of area studies, in part because that would have been impossible to do without a lengthy analysis and in part because it may be considered a secondary object of the report to show what work is being done in Britain on other countries.

1.3. Development studies

This field has traditionally been regarded as one aspect of applied economics and is normally more policy-oriented than other disciplines in the social sciences. It is increasingly recognised, however, that governing parameters in development studies may be as much sociological, historical, cultural, and political as economic. There is no universally accepted definition of the field, but it will be taken in this paper to refer to the range of research covering the industrialisation and 'modernisation' of the poorer communities of the world, generally referred to as the 'Third World'. Development studies deal with both national and international aspects of these countries.

As already indicated, this essay is intended to present a general view. It is not based on a systematic collection of data about research and training. Owing to the complex nature of international studies in the United Kingdom, full details could only have been collected over a long period of time. There have been studies recently of particular aspects of the fields and supplementary information of these has been obtained by a number of interviews. It is hoped that the result is a reasonably accurate profile of the general pattern of activity in international studies in Britain. Inevitably there are gaps. Such fields as international law and international economics have not been given the attention they deserve, while social anthropology, social history, and human geography have been considered only when they fit within an area studies framework.

Finally, it should be mentioned that research on international matters takes place in a wide range of institutional settings. Government departments, trade unions, political parties, individual members of Parliament, and commercial firms may all engage in important research. Much of it, however, is highly pragmatic work on current problems. Even if results are published, research of this kind is usually client or policy-oriented and thus of little interest outside the agencies involved, while studies done in the Foreign Office are, of course, classified under the Official Secrets Act. It has not been possible to deal with this type of activity, and the essay concentrates solely on the work of universities and independent research institutes.

2. Research

2.1. Settings and problems of research in international studies in Britain

As Professor John Mackintosh has noted, 'the most important single point is the very limited resources being committed in this field'.[3] In terms of personnel, it has been estimated that there are fewer than one hundred fifty people in Britain working on the subject, and many of these are students working for the Ph.D. degree. The fact that much research is carried out by junior members of the profession has several important consequences. It may be, for example, that research topics are selected in part on the basis of availability of material; certainly there is a need for students to focus on rather narrow issues which can both produce some original conclusions and be completed within three years. Moreover, the topic not infrequently must be tailored to meet the demands of a particular superviser, and it may on occasion be thought advisable to avoid controversial topics. These factors may be as important as relevance or interest in determining the direction of research efforts.

Not all who receive a Ph.D. degree find it desirable or possible to remain in academic life, but those who do find that their research time is drastically reduced when they take a full-time university post. The traditional view of research in the United Kingdom is that it should be conducted by university lecturers who combine teaching and research in a manner which is beneficial to both functions. Indeed this feature more than any other has been said to mark the distinctive character of the university as a social institution.[4]

In a recent study of research settings in the social sciences[5] the university teaching department was described as having a number of points in its favour as a research unit. First of all, because of the deep-seated belief that universities constitute the 'natural' milieu for research, work done there carries a certain amount of prestige which may not attach to other institutions. The importance of universities in this respect is enhanced by the fact that graduates have absorbed the values of a university environment and are frequently reluctant to leave it for another type of research organisation. More important, perhaps, university teachers normally have greater security of tenure and autonomy than can be provided in other research settings. Researchers are relatively free to choose their areas of concentration, and they are virtually free of bureaucratic controls. It is also true to say that a university teacher

11

himself controls the time and effort he will devote to research, a factor which may well improve motivation.

There are disadvantages, however. One of the key factors in advancement and promotion is the patronage of senior members of staff. Junior staff may find it necessary, or at least expedient, to modify their own research plans in order to have the support of their senior colleagues. Failure to maintain good relations may block promotion prospects or contribute to an unpleasant working environment; this may well lessen any desire to experiment and almost certainly leads to a degree of conservatism and complacency within academic disciplines.

The teaching department, moreover, is not always a particularly tranquil place in which to work, and that may have immediate and direct effects on research. Senior academics in Britain have increasingly moved towards the emphasis on publication which has had such a marked influence in American universities. The more academic advancement in a highly competitive situation depends upon published work, the more chance there is that scholars will concentrate on safe and trivial topics with a definite publishing outlet. The tensions engendered in such an atmosphere may well impede progress, particularly in areas which require reflection and speculation.

It should also be noted when considering the university teaching department as a research unit that the range of topics may well be limited by the fact that academics can engage in research only sporadically and must spend a great deal of their time in teaching and administrative activities. Insufficient time and lack of proper financial and staffing resources mean that academics are frequently tied to topics which can be done within those limits.

Despite these difficulties, it is clearly a belief in British universities that teaching and research ought to go together and are mutually beneficial. The function of university teachers is not only to transmit accumulated knowledge but to engage in research as well; certainly most university contracts stipulate that lecturers are expected to pursue their research interests. Although there are no official statements about the proportion of staff time which should be devoted to research, or for that matter about the number of hours in an academic working week, it is commonly put at one-third.

Relations between the teaching and research functions have rarely been easy, and tensions which have developed in recent years have created what is perhaps the biggest single question about research trends in the social sciences generally and international studies in particular. Emphasis on visible output mentioned earlier has put a premium on speed and quantity of publication, affecting not only the type of studies undertaken but also the quality of results.

Much research is done by reluctant and unenthusiastic academics who feel themselves forced into a role which they can only fill in an indifferent fashion.

On the other hand the enthusiastic researcher is faced with the growing dilemma of institutions putting great emphasis on research but defining academic activities almost solely in terms of teaching. The major decisions taken by government and by the universities themselves are based on the production of graduates. Staff size, for example, is related to student numbers, which in turn means that student interest may well play a large part in determining the direction of both teaching and research. Moreover, student demands and financial stringency have led to a feeling in certain academic and government quarters that there is a need to put greater stress on teaching. It is increasingly government policy to increase student intake without proportional growth in staff.

Thus, despite apparent adherence to the principle that teaching and research are indivisible, a number of factors have created a division between them. Although research carries with it more status and prestige than teaching, which in itself is a cause of tension within the academic community, outside forces determining the character of universities only relate to the teaching function. If pressure for greater emphasis on teaching continues, a new relationship will necessarily develop. It is not possible at this stage to predict what form it will take.

Apart from universities, independent research institutes are the major setting for research on international studies. The two most prominent of these are the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) and the International Institute of Strategic Studies. The Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research is a smaller organisation working in a more restricted field. They are all relatively small-scale organisations, but they have made a number of worthwhile contributions on limited budgets, and their importance should not be underestimated.

Chatham House, in particular, is not only a research institute per se; it also serves as an intellectual centre for many scholars in the field, providing important facilities, including a press cuttings library without equal in Britain. The publication program includes books, monographs and seminar reports, as well as works of reference. Of the latter, the following are of particular importance to the field:

> Survey of International Affairs. After the first volume which covered the years 1920-23, a survey has normally been published for each year.

Documents on International Affairs. Since 1928, these volumes have contained treaties, agreements, and other documents compiled from public papers.

In addition, the Institute publishes two journals, International Affairs, and World Today.

Only a few scholars in the United Kingdom can exist on research alone. The institutes have a few permanent members of staff, but more frequently they provide a research base for academics on paid leave from university posts. They offer reasonable working conditions, a certain number of their own facilities, and geographical proximity to other resources and facilities in London, as well as the opportunity to exchange views with other scholars working in the same field. They possess, in varying degrees, several positive qualities as research units. They can put together a research team on a project in a way that is usually not possible in a university, thus preventing duplication of effort and achieving certain economies of time and money. In addition, they provide forums for developing new ideas among people of similar interests. The institutes are not part of a university system, and staff can concentrate on specific research projects without having to engage in teaching and other activities which researchers find distracting in a university. Members of staff, however, and indeed the existence of the institutes themselves, are frequently insecure, a point which will be taken up further in the next section.

2.2. Financing research

Social Science research in universities in the United Kingdom is financed primarily from government funds. In theory the major contribution is made to universities through the University Grants Committee (U.G.C.). If it is assumed that one-third of a lecturer's time should be devoted to research, then government funds support at least the staffing costs of a great deal of work. That assumption must be balanced, however, by such factors as the amount of time university lecturers are in fact able to devote to research and the extent to which departments employ full-time researchers with U.G.C. funds.

The government also supports research rather more directly; for example, a number of government departments, such as the Home Office, the Department of Health and Social Security, and the Overseas Development Administration frequently commission specific research projects.

Finally, government funds are filtered through the Social Science Research Council to individuals or teams of researchers. The SSRC is financed by grants in aid voted by Parliament and has an annual budget of £6 million, of which roughly half is given in the form of research grants and half as studentships for research training. Research grants, which are given for periods of up to five years, are intended basically to provide initial support for new ideas and well-defined projects. They cannot be used for general expenses or for work of an unspecified nature.

Private foundations are another source of funds. In the past a great deal of help was provided from foreign foundations, but particularly in the field of international studies that source of support has somewhat diminished in recent years. It has been suggested as one reason for this[6] that the major problems of the mid-sixties were seen to be international in scope; as a result funds were made available for research in such fields as strategic studies and international relations. Towards the end of the decade, however, when domestic troubles, particularly in America, began to overshadow world affairs, funds may have been diverted from international studies to more immediately relevant topics such as urban affairs and the environment. However, there are basic economic reasons as well; inflation and depressed capital markets have had their effect. Moreover, much foundation support was meant to stimulate research in particular areas and was never intended to be a permanent source of funding.

A few British foundations exist (appendix 2), but they are neither as large nor as wealthy as their American counterparts. Moreover, they have been affected by the same economic forces that have led to major retrenchment on the part of United States foundations. The most significant for social science research are the Nuffield Foundation, the Leverhulme Trust Fund, and the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust. The Centre for Environmental Studies also makes some awards for projects concerned with international studies.

Discussion of financing would not be complete without special reference to the difficulties faced by the independent research institutes. They have never been large or heavily endowed and in the current economic situation face great difficulties. Professor Mackintosh has pointed out that their endowments are declining in value, government is commissioning less research, industry is short of funds for its own purposes, and operating costs of the institutes are rising. Thus, there is some evidence that the already-small amount of work being done in research institutes will decline even further over the next few years.[7]

15

Research institutes have no access to U.G.C. funds and benefit from that source only when a scholar on paid leave from his university joins a research project in the institute. A certain amount of support comes from subscriptions, endowments, and membership fees, but on the whole the institutes depend upon grants from outside bodies. There are limitations even there. The Social Science Research Council, for example, can support specific research projects, but under the terms of its charter, it cannot make the type of general subsidy which would offer the security necessary for a long-term research project or permit the wide variety of activities desirable in the operation of such an institute. Private foundations are somewhat more flexible, and within the limits of their own budgets they have in certain instances subsidised part of an institute's activities.

To sum up, the total amount of money available for research is small, and even that is quickly being undermined. Part of the difficulty obviously has arisen from the rate of inflation and the unsatisfactory economic climate in Britain at the present time. Other factors have been the weakening of foundation support from abroad and the recent emphasis on domestic research at the expense of work in the international field. Research funds everywhere have been affected, although the institutes, with an already precarious financial base, appear to have been especially badly hit.

2.3. Assessment of the field

In attempting to outline the current state of international studies in Britain, it is difficult to be precise. Although there is a certain amount of agreement among academics, there is, as one would expect, some controversy about the nature and role of the disciplines involved. Moreover, because so much of the relevant research is carried out by individuals working independently, it is impossible to find an overall pattern; only trends and developments can be indicated.

a. International relations

Most British research on international relations is carried out in universities but does not represent a great deal in absolute terms. This relatively small effort can be explained in large measure by the intellectual history of the discipline.[8] Although politics and government have been respectable subjects at least since the 1930's, political science has only recently been accorded full academic status. Most existing departments were established as recently as the late

16

1950's or early 1960's. This was the period when new universities were created, and the general mood of expansion, coinciding as it did with the increasing status of social studies, did a great deal to encourage the growth of politics departments. Even so, not all British universities have such departments. Where they do exist, with certain notable exceptions, they are small and the syllabus is concerned basically with institutions and political theory. Only in some eight universities is there any real emphasis on international relations.

While the study of international relations in Britain is very much tied to the fortunes of political science, it should be pointed out that some work in the field is done in other academic departments. International law is taught in most law departments, but since the subject is of little practical use to most practising lawyers, it has been given very little support. One recent exception, noted by Professor Mackintosh, is the increasing attention given to the law of the sea as a result of controversies about fishing rights and problems connected with North Sea oil. The universities of Dundee and Aberdeen, for example, have undertaken work in this field.

Most departments of economics have also been concerned with international problems. Again much of the interest has resulted from practical problems of international trade, money, and organisation, and the broader political and social contexts have been neglected. This unfortunate split between economists and students of international relations has had important consequences and will be mentioned in further detail below.

Perhaps the closest links in Britain are those between international relations and history, an association which continues to affect the direction of research efforts. Diplomatic history has long been an important part of Britain's contribution to an understanding of international relations. Since the seventeenth century, when the country began to play a significant role in world affairs, there has been a lot of interest in documents and other public records. These are readily accessible and have been put to good use by historians and political scientists. Thus a majority of scholars in the field, while they may dispute other aspects of the nature of the discipline, nevertheless appear to agree that 'one of the major strengths in the British tradition [is] the area of writing lying on the border between international history and international relations: history with a strong element of political and diplomatic analysis, or diplomatic analysis closely based on a historical case-study or studies'.[9]

Few would deny the value of British work in the realm of diplomatic history, but there is no agreement about the proper paths to follow to develop international relations outside that realm. There was some optimism at an earlier stage about the contributions which could be made by behavioural approaches, but that feeling is now felt to have been unwarranted. Indeed, Professor Mackintosh suggests that the behavioural school of political science, far from helping to establish international relations on a firmer foundation, led instead to its neglect. Behaviouralists, he argues, hoped to build up a map of attitudes which would permit them to describe scientifically the political outlook of the community and to derive from this the methods, limitations, and purposes of the political institutions. This approach was detrimental to international relations, since it is not possible to construct an international map of attitudes or to argue that this creates a state's foreign policies.[10] The method was inapplicable, so the field was neglected.

Whether or not behaviouralism was detrimental to international studies, the strength of the movement towards analysis and theory in an attempt to construct a theoretical discipline has apparently been reduced. The techniques of game theory and model-building which were once fashionable and which seemed capable of producing substantial advances in the understanding of international affairs no longer seem to have revolutionary potential. New techniques have not been totally rejected, but it has been pointed out that even American scholars have been disillusioned and now speak in terms of a 'post-behavioural revolution'.

There has also been a reaction to the attempt by behaviouralists to build a 'value-free' discipline. There has been increasing disillusionment resulting from the fruitlessness of much behavioural research and increasing awareness of the inadequacy of many of the allegedly scientific assumptions on which it is based. The Viet Nam War played a part as well, since students throughout the world reacted against the mechanism which seemed to be an inherent part of behaviouralism. British conservatism, too, may have influenced the reaction; concern for values has long been a central feature of the intellectual tradition in this country, and it was strong enough to withstand the efforts made for a time to establish a 'neutral' science.

There is a good measure of agreement in the profession about the general pattern of development. It is felt that research has been conducted essentially along the right paths, and unless there are marked changes in the academic and financial situations, should continue with only a few modifications to proceed in roughly the same directions and with the same resources as before. Desirable changes are confined basically to shifts of emphasis. Traditional fields, such as the borderline area between political history and international relations can be strengthened. Embryonic fields such as foreign policy analysis can be further developed, and greater attention can be given to non-Western areas of the world. The prevailing mood has been summarised by Professor Bell as follows:

18

> The subjects which commanded research enthusiasm a few years ago . . . were in the fields of integration theory, international institutions and law, European studies of various sorts, defence problems. No one doubts that there are many aspects of these subjects which are still to be usefully explored, but a preponderance of interest appears to have swung to the problems of adjusting foreign policies and managing crises in a world of disappointed economic and political expectations, and sharp reversals of international fortune: how to survive in an epoch perhaps marked by shortages of everything save population, how to avoid importing inflation or unemployment, pollution, or de-stabilising capital flows.[11]

Obviously the direction of research efforts will vary according to developments in world affairs and the issues that arouse interest from time to time. Some subjects, such as defense studies, are clearly thought to be less important now than they were a few years ago. This field was one of the growth areas after the Second World War and tended to expand with the foundation of NATO and the intense period of cold war. Financial aid was provided from public and private sources alike. In the 1950's there was great interest in such topics as nuclear weapons and their effect on power politics, relationships between the two super-powers, and the search for nuclear disarmament.

The sense of urgency which lent support to defense studies no longer exists. The balance of power seems for the moment at least to have reached an accepted position, and attention can be turned to other problems of international society. Such a conclusion is put forward only tentatively and is not intended to imply that a permanent status quo has been reached. As Professor Bell points out, the field 'is probably unique in that a technological break-through in quite a different area of knowledge--nuclear physics or electronic engineering--can literally compel, for prudence sake, a re-examination of theories on which policies of enormous impact hang'.[12] In addition there remains a need for research in conflict and peace studies which may follow on from earlier work in defense studies.

In contrast, a growing field is that dealing with the impact of economic questions on international relations. As economic problems have begun to dominate the realm of domestic politics, so the pace of development in the international economic system has begun to outdistance the ability of a rigid political system to deal with the tensions thereby created.

But while economic problems have been pushed to the fore and great interest aroused, academic response has been less than satisfactory. Essentially this is because the economic problems involved are of such enormous complexity that even the best economists find them virtually insoluble. And while they may understand the technical aspects of the various problems which arise, they are frequently inclined to view them in a fairly restricted disciplinary framework and to ignore relevant political dimensions. Political scientists, on the other hand, rarely possess sufficient knowledge of economics to deal adequately with the subject.

Work in the realm of international economics must be improved, and that can come about only by training able economists to work within the framework of international political relations. Eventually it might be possible to recruit into international studies students whose first degree has been in economics and who would subsequently be able to combine the two disciplines in a meaningful way. In the interval, interdisciplinary co-operation might be feasible, although that approach appears to have lost much of its appeal.

Although there is a great deal of agreement in the profession about recent developments and future trends, a number of scholars have reservations. They believe that the traditional approach, however useful in certain respects, must be supplemented and modified to some extent. They feel that there is too much complacency in the field and find a great deal to criticise about the state of international relations. If anything meaningful is to be said about a field as broad as the entire international system, a more rigorous approach must be produced.

Methodology is therefore seen to be the key. The traditional case-study is inadequate; either it stands on its own simply as a piece of historical research, or it suffers from broad generalisations made on the basis of quite limited evidence. It follows that there is great need for research into the requisite intellectual techniques. Some aspects of the behavioural approach have been sterile and meaningless, but others serve useful purposes and should be separated from the rest. There is a tendency in Britain to approach the problems of methodology in a fairly sceptical mood and to be prepared to learn from American mistakes. As a result this stand is not as extreme as was that of some earlier behaviouralists in the United States.

Critics of traditional international relations also stress the importance of theory. It has even been suggested that there is little genuine international relations research in Britain and that what is generally included in that category is in fact history or commentary on world affairs. Although there is scepticism about the possibility of a general theory of international relations, it is felt to be important

20

to develop theories about more limited aspects of the field. International relations can be divided into a number of distinct categories and questions posed with respect to each. The answers to them can be based on reasoning or empirical research, but in either case they can be used to build a basic pool of knowledge from which middle-range theories can be constructed. In this context it is felt that British scholars might play a particularly significant role by synthesising the empirical evidence and tentative hypotheses of foreign writers.

Critics are concerned, moreover, about the function of research in international relations. It is felt that underlying much work in the field has been an exaggerated respect for problems defined by Anglo-American diplomacy which all too often have been studied on the basis of certain shared ideological assumptions. This is believed to be the wrong approach for academics whose work should not be directed towards the solution of short-term political problems but towards matters transcending national boundaries and ideologies.

The research priorities of the critics go well beyond the relatively minor shifts envisaged by the majority of scholars in the field. They tend to stress work in theory, although not for the sake of abstract speculation that may be increasingly removed from reality, but in order to keep up with developments overseas and to be able to cull from them what is best. There has also been a suggestion that greater attention should be given to the decision-making process which has recently been of interest to political science generally and could have major implications for the future direction of international research. Other areas proposed for research support include work on simulation and model-building and interdisciplinary work with mathematicians.

To conclude, there is general agreement about the areas in which international relations research in Britain has been most successful, but some dispute about existing gaps and desirable future developments. On these points there are a number of views within the profession, and since so much research in Britain is carried out by individuals acting independently, research projects reflect this diversity. It is not possible to identify particular departments with a single perspective. Most institutions represent a range of views. Some lean in specific directions: King's College, for example, concentrates on war studies, Lancaster is concerned with games theory, and University College is behavioural.

Centres of research can be identified, but it would be a mistake to associate any one with a particular approach. In general it seems fair to say that most university research takes place in departments with teaching programmes in international relations or strategic studies. These include Aberdeen, Aberystwyth, Lancaster, London (King's, London School of Economics, University College), Oxford, Southampton, and Sussex. (See appendix 4.)

b. Area Studies

Area studies research is carried out in a number of universities in the United Kingdom, in many instances in centres established to study particular geographical regions. (A list of the major centres is given in appendix 3.) Only part of the work in this field can be considered rightly to belong to international studies; indeed much of it is not even encompassed by the social sciences. Area studies appear to have been established originally in the fields of language and literature and only relatively recently have they expanded to include social science. Thus, they present peculiar problems of definition in connection with this report. To extend the field to all work involving overseas areas would lead to difficulty. At the same time, it is virtually impossible to specify what proportion of research is in social science, and even more difficult to pinpoint what is international studies. Only the most sweeping generalisations can be made about these activities.

The amount of research activity varies enormously from one geographical region to another. Research on North American topics was stimulated by the American Council of Learned Societies which gave financial assistance to universities willing to appoint teachers in subjects related to the United States and later provided funds for scholars needing to visit America for research. The co-ordinating and information-gathering function of the Institute of United States Studies have also been useful aids to research. Work on Latin America and the Soviet Union was given a vigorous initial boost by the government through the Hayter/Parry funds, which were used, inter alia, to develop libraries and to establish centres for the study of those areas. The funds have now been depleted, but they did serve to establish a firm infrastructure for research which universities will undoubtedly try to continue.

Work on Western Europe was slow to develop, but, possibly as a result of Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, rapid growth is now taking place, in the universities of Edinburgh, Leicester, London (Queen Mary College and L.S.E.), Manchester, Reading, and Sussex. Very little work has been done on the smaller countries of Eastern Europe, and the Middle East has been virtually neglected.

Scholars have pointed out that research in area studies is very much dependent upon the existence of good libraries which

22

frequently must attempt to develop highly specialised collections concerned with particular geographical regions while attempting simultaneously to expand holdings generally. It has already been noted that ear-marked grants for Latin American and Soviet Studies have ceased, but support for some regions still exists. Special library funds have been given by the U.G.C. for the support of Southern African studies to such centres as Birmingham, Edinburgh, London (School of Oriental and African Studies), and Sussex. The major centres for Western European or European Community studies can benefit by being designated 'centres de documentation'. Generally, however, area studies library resources have suffered in common with most other facilities from the problem of inflation and the special problems created by the need to compete with single-subject disciplines within universities. Teaching libraries can be and have been developed, but there is a need for first-class research libraries. That development will probably require a certain amount of centralisation. Already there is a degree of co-operation among some area studies centres, but even more will be necessary if facilities are to expand in a reasonable and economical way.

Area studies are an especially difficult field, requiring as they do, familiarity with relevant languages and cultures, as well as adequate training in the social sciences. Because of the long period of study required and perhaps because of the general disenchantment in the social sciences with interdisciplinary work, it is expected that area studies will show only a modest growth over the next few years, and research activity will accordingly be somewhat restricted. The obvious exceptions at the moment are Western European and European Community studies which already show signs of vigorous expansion and which by competing for the limited resources available may have an inhibiting effect on research in other areas. It must be noted, however, that prediction is impossible when interest in a region varies enormously and depends in large measure on developments in world affairs. It is possible, for example, that the Middle East will attract more scholarly attention as a result of the continuing 'energy crisis'.

c. Development studies

A special Development Studies Panel established by the Social Science Research Council reported fairly recently on research in this field.[13] Members of the panel pointed out that the information originally at their disposal was incomplete; however they were in touch with the main centres of research and were able to verify on an impressionistic basis the conclusions tentatively reached on the basis of the limited statistical evidence available.

As in other subjects subsumed under the title of international studies it was found that most projects were undertaken by individuals rather than by teams of researchers. The Social Science Research Council in particular appeared to support a large number of small projects. That is the opposite of the practice of international agencies and American foundations which tend to support fewer activities but on a larger scale. On the other hand, the Council finances research training activity as well, and a substantial proportion of the work supported is being done by candidates for the Ph.D. degree which obviously skews the figures somewhat. Nevertheless the fact remains that most projects in the field are small ones.

It is difficult to assess precisely the relative benefits of large and small scale research. Certainly the SSRC have pointed in particular instances to the return in terms of scholarship which has been received for very little investment, and it is still true that in the social sciences one-man projects can be rewarding in certain areas. However, it appears to be the consensus of opinion that in a lot of development studies the most effective research can be conducted only by teams, especially when it requires the collection of masses of detail over a wide area. Although not denying the importance of some small-scale research, the Panel concluded:

> Coordination of the overall research effort in this field seems to be at a minimum, and very few of the individual research projects form part of coherent programmes. Thus, it seems clear that the present pattern of research support has limited relevance for understanding the large scale processes of development, or as a basis for policy.[14]

In addition to scale, a number of characteristics of research in development studies can be noted. Although not invariably the case, much of the research is action-oriented and designed to produce policy recommendations. Although this is attractive to those who believe that research activity should have greater relevance to world problems, it is a tendency much resisted by other scholars who consider it necessary for academics to be uncommitted sceptics. Most of the work is concentrated in the field of development economics, and while there are several sources of funds for investigations of that type, there is virtually no support outside the SSRC for sociologists, political scientists, and social anthropologists who wish to work on problems of the Third World.

Research at the moment is being done in a variety of fields, including national and regional planning, income distribution, rural development agricultural planning, the 'green revolution' in Africa and India, industrial sociology, monetary policy, communications, problems of foreign investment in industry, trade, land use and population studies. Much of the research itself is being done overseas, but a large proportion of the projects emanates from the Institute of Development Studies in the University of Sussex and the School of Development Studies at East Anglia.

The Panel discerned a notable bias towards work in former British colonies, especially in West and Central Africa. A great deal of effort was directed to those areas after the first movements towards independence in black Africa and during the Congolese war. In the 1960's researchers in Britain were concerned with aid and its effects and with how to avoid neo-colonialism. In addition, the institutions and problems of individual African states were closely studied. However, the 1970's have seen a loss of interest in Africa, and that has led in turn to a decline in research on the general question of economic aid to the Third World.[15]

While West and Central Africa were being subjected to all kinds of examination, the former French and Portuguese colonies were virtually ignored until Angola became a matter of contention between the super powers. There are still a large number of geographical areas which ought to be given more attention; for example, there has been relatively little research on Latin America, and Oceania and the Far East have long been neglected. In terms of SSRC support, there have been few projects on Asia (except the India sub-continent), on Hong Kong, Malaya, Sri Lanka, Singapore, and the West Indies. With respect to Asia, however it has been noted that a great deal of research was generated by the United Nations and major American foundations.

There has been little research into industrial or commercial modernisation or urban development. Other areas of neglect include the uses of overseas aid, technical help, or overseas investment. Problems of stability and political change have been considered but require a great deal more work. Health, education, and ecology are topics also in need of more study.

Development studies offer some opportunity for interdisciplinary research. Team research is appropriate to the field and encourages the involvement of more than one discipline. Although it is possible to find individual scholars who can integrate ideas from two or more disciplines, that is a rare quality in an age of specialisation, and an interdisciplinary approach in effect means teams of researchers. That is particularly true when a subject straddles the natural and social sciences. However, any increase in joint effort requires greater financial aid, greater co-ordination, and perhaps greater direction from research councils and other funding organisations.

3. Teaching

3.1. Organisation of teaching in British universities

There are fifty-three universities in the United Kingdom according to the Department of Education and Science classifications. However, there are certain anomalies, since the University of London with a number of very large teaching colleges is listed as a single unit, while the constituent parts of the University of Wales are listed separately. Degree work is also offered in the twenty-eight polytechnics where some interesting work is being done on international relations, but this report is confined essentially to universities.

The general pattern of organisation is similar in most British universities, but there are a number of variations of detail. The normal period of study for the bachelor degree is three years, but four years are required to complete some courses and is the standard length of time in the University of Keele.

In a typical social studies faculty, students will read two or three subjects in their first year, although some universities have attempted to develop a rather more comprehensive programme as a general introduction to social science. Whichever way it is organised, the general intention of first year study is to provide both in substance and methodology a basic grounding sufficient to enable a student to select one or two subjects for intensive specialisation. Since many of the social sciences are not schools subjects the first year is normally designed to give a reasonable degree of flexibility in order to cater for changes of interest during the year. The second and third years of study may be devoted to one or two subjects (single or joint honours). Most schemes are designed to concentrate in depth on a fairly restricted range of topics, but students, particularly those reading for single-subject degrees, are normally urged to select optional courses which given them some grasp of another social science.

The quality as well as the degree of specialisation of the British bachelor degree has meant that until recently it has been sufficient for entry into most professions, including the academic world. The prestige of the first degree is still higher than that of, say, the United States, but there has been a trend towards more and more postgraduate work. That is in part an inevitable consequence of the fact that longer periods of study are needed to ensure a thorough grasp of a subject. It is also a result of the steep increase during the last decade in the number of graduates who are forced into higher degrees in order to compete for jobs. Moreover, postgraduate work is considered to be important for the prestige and reputation of university departments. Whether postgraduate education will continue to grow in the face of increasing academic unemployment and a decline in government funds is open to question.

Higher degrees traditionally were earned by the successful writing of a dissertation, but taught courses are increasingly being introduced at the level of the master's degree. Although there is some variation in approach, the course work M. A. is generally awarded on the basis of examinations in two to four subjects, with possibly some assessment of essays or other written work, and the completion of a thesis.

Candidates for the Ph.D. are normally required only to write a thesis, and it is expected that the work will make an original contribution to knowledge or that it will be of some significance as a theoretical or critical work.

Financial support for undergraduates comes from local education authorities, but for postgraduate work funds are allocated by the research councils or central government departments, depending on the field of study. In the social sciences, awards are made by the Social Science Research Council to students nominated by departments with approved programmes.

3.2. Teaching programmes in international studies

a. International relations[16]

International relations is most frequently taught at the undergraduate level as part of the programme in political science which in turn is offered as a degree course in thirty-six universities. In three instances some attention is given to international studies in the first year, but the more frequent practice is to offer optional courses in the second and third years of study. The degree of commitment to international relations varies quite a lot. In the University of Essex, for example, it was initially decided to offer no work in the field, but student demand led eventually to including in the syllabus one course offered by a part time lecturer. At the University of Lancaster, in contrast, much of the reputation of the Department of Politics is based on its intensive work in international relations.

Eight universities have degree programmes in international relations. In three of those, the London School of Economics, Aberystwyth and Sussex, there are established chairs and the subject is given full departmental status. (The University of Sussex is not formally organised around departments, but the various 'subject groups' fulfill many of the same functions.) A new department has recently been established in the University of Keele. Lancaster, Southampton, and Aberdeen have degree programmes in departments of politics, and University College, London developed its specialisation within the Faculty of Laws.

In addition to these it should be noted that a department of peace studies has recently been established in the University of Bradford. A chair of peace studies has also been proposed for the University of London, but it will be attached to the Institute of Education, and it is not yet clear how work there will develop.

The London School of Economics has the largest programme in international relations. There are thirteen members of staff in the department, and some 167 students. In addition, work bearing on the subject is done in the departments of International History and Government, both of which are quite large by British standards.

There has been a chair of International Politics in Aberystwyth since 1919, but the department's main growth has taken place over the past two decades. Particular emphasis was placed in the latter part of that period on strategic studies. More recently an attempt to expand the department's traditionally historical approach to include some behaviourally-oriented theory has led to a total restructuring of the course which was put into effect on an experimental basis in the 1973-74 academic year.

International relations in the University of Lancaster does not have departmental status, but the department of politics leans heavily in that direction. Of twenty-four members of staff, eight are international relations specialists, while three have interests which are primarily in that field, and three others work in the borderline area between comparative politics and international relations. Roughly half the undergraduates in the department can be classified as students of international relations.

The unique feature of work at Sussex is that the international relations specialisation may be taken in one of three schools; i.e., African and Asian Studies, European Studies, and Social Sciences. It will soon be offered in the School of English and American Studies as well.

University College, London has been somewhat out of the mainstream of international relations studies. Developed in the Faculty of Laws, it has close ties with the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict. The course is an intensive one and requires a high degree of concentration even in the first year. The most significant feature of the programme is that it is heavily behaviourally-oriented. According to Dr. Gunnar Nielsson, 'it has been based on the most theoretically unified and integrated approach to international relations in Britain'. Undergraduate work is now being phased out, but the postgraduate programme is expected to continue.

It should be noted that work in the field is also being carried on at the University of Surrey where international relations is offered as a special subject in the four-year programme in Linguistics and Regional Studies.

Postgraduate work is offered in all the universities offering a degree course in international relations. Work at Aberystwyth, however, is limited to the fields of strategic studies and twentieth century British foreign policy. In addition to institutions discussed above, King's College, London has a large M. A. programme in war studies, and Oxford offers a two-year B. Phil. course in international relations. The University of Bradford is about to launch a taught M. A. course in peace studies. Research facilities are provided in all these places, and such others as Surrey and the Centre of International Studies in Cambridge. A list of institutions offering postgraduate training is given in appendix 4.

It ought perhaps to be noted that the collegiate system in Oxford and Cambridge tends to obscure some of the work being done in those two universities. Several colleges have politics fellows who specialise in international relations, and a great deal of research is conducted in St. Antony's College, both by permanent fellows and by a large number of visiting scholars. A Latin-American Centre was established at St. Antony's in 1964, and the College also emphasises work in Slavonic, East European and Middle Eastern studies.

b. Area studies

There is some undergraduate work, usually with a disciplinary emphasis, available in area studies, but it is generally felt that work should be concentrated at the postgraduate level. Course work or research training for most areas of the world is offered at universities listed in appendix 3. Although most courses listed are in universities, both Ealing and Portsmouth Polytechnics have four-year CNAA degrees in Latin American studies.

The London course may be worth special mention since it provides the most unified programme in the country. The London M. A. in Area Studies is normally a one-year interdisciplinary degree, and students concentrate on one of the nine geographical regions: Africa, the Commonwealth, Eastern Europe and Russia, Far East, Latin America, Near and Middle East, South Asia, South East Asia, and the United States. The programmes are coordinated to some extent by the Centre for Area Studies, but each programme is based on a centre, school or institute dealing with a particular region.

Teaching staff are drawn from many of the constituent units of the University. The Centre for Area Studies, in addition to its administrative responsibilities, also conducts intercollegiate and interdisciplinary studies covering a wide range of historical and current topics.

The one area so far omitted from the London programme is Western Europe, although there is an M.Sc. in European Studies at the London School of Economics and an M.A. in European Community Studies in Queen Mary College. It is hoped, however, to extend the M.A. in area studies to encompass Western Europe in a way that would be complementary to the existing programmes. It would probably include work done at the Centre for European Agricultural Studies at Wye College and at King's European Law Centre. But the programme now under consideration may place greater emphasis on cultural, historical, and geographical aspects than on social science.

Most support for study in this field comes from the Social Science Research Council, but some financial aid comes from other sources, such as the Leverhulme Trust and the Department of Education and Science. The main difficulty is the length of time required to develop expertise in an area. Financial support for postgraduate training is normally limited to three years, but students taking up area studies after a disciplinary-based undergraduate course require more time in order to increase their knowledge of other disciplines as well as of the geographical region in which they intend to specialise. The problem is exacerbated by the need in most cases to learn a language, particularly when the so-called 'hard' languages are involved.

The Area Studies Panel of the Social Science Research Council have recently concluded a review of their field. On the whole they expect a modest but steady growth in courses covering all regions of the world, although there will be variations from time to time in student demand. The biggest area of growth in the next few years will undoubtedly be in Western European studies in which a number of courses have recently been introduced or are in advanced stages of planning.

It should be pointed out that the training described in this section has dealt with area studies per se, a field which is intrinsically interdisciplinary. Quite a lot of work on foreign countries is carried out in the ordinary subject departments of a university. For example, students in the University of Essex can concentrate on one of three regions of the world (Latin America, North America, and the Soviet Union), but their studies are based on a discipline; that is they may choose to study a particular region in terms of literature, politics, or sociology. Such courses, and the type of work commonly done in the field of comparative politics, are on the borderline of the subject of this report and have had to be excluded.

30

c. Development studies

There is little undergraduate work in development studies, and graduate work is very much restricted to research degrees. There are several taught courses in development economics, but courses in development studies in the broader sense are rare. Nottingham offers an M. A. in Environmental Planning, and University College, London a diploma in Urbanisation in Developing Countries. Perhaps the most important development in this area is in the University of Sussex where an interdisciplinary M. Phil. course seeks to provide a foundation in economic and social analysis for those whose careers will involve them in the formulation of policies in developing countries.

A list of postgraduate training currently offered is given in appendix 5.

4. Library resources

The library resources of the various institutes and universities vary considerably. Undergraduate teaching libraries appear to be reasonably adequate, although inflation is tending to weaken their position. Financial stringency means that acquisitions can not keep pace with publication, and it may be that libraries are relatively less well stocked now than they were four or five years ago.

With respect to research, scholars in London are reasonably well off, since they have access to university holdings, including innumerable specialist collections, and are conveniently near the British Library. In addition they can make use of the Chatham House Library and press cuttings facilities. Oxford and Cambridge are both copyright libraries and have enormous holdings. Outside these centres, there are pockets of strength, particularly in area and development studies, since centres specialising in a geographical region normally have developed good collections. More general research, however, essentially must be London-based, a situation which creates additional hardship for scholars in institutions remote from the capital.

5. Professional organisations

Mention has already been made of some of the means by which activities in international studies are co-ordinated. The annual Bailey Conference has been the forum in which scholars from a number of disciplines can exchange views and listen to papers describing the most recent work being undertaken. For many people in the field, Chatham House has been a focal point for their professional interests. It provides facilities for research, including its useful press cuttings library, study groups, seminars, and a general meeting place. It has been less important to scholars with a theoretical bent but has nevertheless provided a way to keep in touch with colleagues, although obviously its value is greatest for scholars based in or near London.

The European Consortium for Political Research was founded in 1970 with the help of the Ford Foundation to foster collaboration among universities and other institutions active in political research. There is now a membership of some forty-five institutions from most countries in Western Europe, and it has begun to be a fairly active force in the field of political science. Basically it attempts to develop better facilities for European political scientists, to encourage co-operative research, and to increase professional contacts. So far the ECPR has not had a special effect on international studies, but there have been seminars in the field of comparative politics, and since cross-national research is one of the organisation's major aims, it may well have potential value in the international field.

There are in Britain several relatively small groups organised for the study of particular aspects of international relations. Most have developed within the Political Studies Association and include the following:

American Politics Group
(Convenor: Mr. P. J. Madgwick, University College, Aberystwyth)

Association for Franco-British Political Studies
(Convenor: Dr. V. Wright, London School of Economics)

Comparative Government Group
(Convenor: Professor G. Ionescu, Manchester University)

Association for the Study of German Politics
(Convenor: Dr. K. Dyson, Liverpool University)

Finally, one of the most important developments in recent years may have been the establishment in 1974 of the British International Studies Association (Secretary: Mr. R. J. B. Jones, University of Reading). The organisation is in the early stages of development, but plans include an annual conference, a series of seminars and workshops, and publication of a journal. This is the first time international studies scholars in Britain have had their own organisation, and there are hopes that it will accomplish a great deal in achieving greater cohesion and co-ordination, in promoting research, and in providing an outlet for research findings.

Notes

1. The author would like to thank those who assisted him by giving opinions and information and in some cases by providing written papers. He is especially grateful to Dr. Anthony Atmore, Mr. Michael Banks, Dr. R. J. B. Jones, Professor Coral Bell, Professor Roger Morgan, Dr. Gunnar Nielsson, Mr. Michael Nicholson, Mr. Andrew Shonfield, Mr. Ian Smart, and Professor Jack Spence. In addition, he would like to thank Mr. David Heaps of the Ford Foundation for his advice. None of these, of course, bears any responsibility for the views presented here.

2. Quoted in Coral Bell, 'Research in International Relations in Britain' (London: Social Science Research Council, 1974), ms. appendix VI. Professor Bell was convenor in 1974, of a seminar sponsored by the Political Science Committee of the Social Science Research Council to examine research in international relations. The seminar was attended by a number of British scholars, and Professor Bell's report is a useful summary of opinions and indicates what consensus exists in the field, as well as various points about which there is disagreement.

3. John P. Mackintosh, 'An Evaluation of the Existing State of International Studies in the United Kingdom' (unpublished manuscript), p. 1.

4. A. H. Halsey and M. Trow, The British Academic (London: Faber, 1971).

5. N. Perry, 'Research Settings in the Social Sciences' (London: SSRC Survey Unit, 1974). This paper, which is concerned with the type of organisational framework within which research takes place, presents a useful survey of the literature and is the basis for the opening paragraphs of this section.

6. Bell, p. 1.

7. Mackintosh, p. 2.

8. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

9. Bell. p. 4. Professor Bell's summary of the current state of international relations is the basis for much of the discussion relating to assessment.

10. Mackintosh, p. 4.

11. Bell, p. 4.

12. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

13. 'Development Studies at British Universities and Research Institutes' (London: Social Science Research Council, 1972).

14. Ibid., p. 10.

15. Mackintosh, pp. 11-12.

16. Information in this section is based largely on information compiled by Dr. Gunnar Nielsson whose assistance in this respect is gratefully acknowledged.

Appendix I: Research institutes

Centre for the Analysis of Conflict
Faculty of Laws
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT

International Institute of Strategic Studies
18 Adam Street
London WC2N 6AL

Richardson Institute for Conflict and Peace Research
158 North Gower Street
London NW1 2ND

Royal Institute of International Affairs
Chatham House
10 St. James's Square
London SW1Y 4LE

Appendix II: Foundations and other bodies making awards in international studies

Centre for Environmental Studies
5 Cambridge Terrace
Regent's Park
London NW1 4JL

Leverhulme Trust Fund
21-23 New Fetter Lane
London EC4 1NR

Nuffield Foundation
Nuffield Lodge
Regent's Park
London NW1 4RS

Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust
Beverly House
Shipton Road
York YO3 6RB

Social Science Research Council
Temple Avenue
London EC4Y OBD

35

Appendix III: Area studies centres in Britain and postgraduate training offered

1. Africa

- Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies (Birmingham B15 5TT)
  - M. Soc. Sci. African Studies
  - M. A. African Studies
- Cambridge: Centre for African Studies (The University, Cambridge)
  - Research Training
- Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies (The University, Edinburgh)
  - M. Soc. Sci. African Studies
  - Dip. African Studies
- London: School of Oriental and African Studies (24, Woburn Square, London W.C. 1)
  - M.A. Government and Politics of an Approved Country

2. Russia and East Europe

- Birmingham: Centre for Russian and East European Studies (Birmingham B15 5TT)
  - M. Soc. Sci., M.A., or M.Sc. Russian and East European Studies
- Bradford: Postgraduate School of Yugoslav Studies (Bradford 7, Yorkshire)
  - M.A. Yugoslav Studies
- Glasgow: Institute of Soviet and East European Studies (Glasgow W. 2)
  - M. Phil. Soviet Studies
  - Diploma course in Soviet Studies
- London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies (University of London, Senate House, London W.C. 1)
  - M.A. Soviet Studies
  - M.A. Area Studies (Eastern Europe and Russia)
- Sussex: Graduate Division, Russian Studies (Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN)
  - M.A. Russian Studies
- Swansea: Centre of Russian and East European Studies (Singleton Park, Swansea)
  - M.A. or M. Sc. Soviet Studies

3. European Studies

Edinburgh: Centre of European Governmental Studies (The University, Edinburgh)
M.Sc./M. Phil. European Government Studies

Leicester: Department of Politics (The University, Leicester LE1 7RH)
M.A. European Political Studies

London: London School of Economics (Houghton Street, Aldwych, London WC2A 2AE)
M. Sc. European Studies

London: Queen Mary College (Mile End Road, London E1 4NS)
M.Sc. European Studies

Manchester: Faculty of Economics and Social Studies (The University, Manchester M13 9PL)
M.A. European Community Studies

Reading: Graduate School of Contemporary European Studies (The University, Whiteknight's Park, Reading, Berkshire)
M.A./M. Phil. Contemporary European Studies

Sussex: Graduate Division, Contemporary European Studies (Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN)
M.A. Contemporary European Studies

4. Latin America

Cambridge: Centre of Latin-American Studies (The University, Cambridge)
Diploma in Latin-American Studies

Glasgow: Institute of Latin-American Studies (Glasgow W.2)
M. Phil. Latin-American Studies

Liverpool: Centre for Latin-American Studies (P.O. Box 147, Liverpool L69 3BX)
B. Phil. Latin-American Studies

London: Institute of Latin-American Studies (Tavistock Square, London WC1 9HA)
M.A. Area Studies

Oxford: Inter-Faculty Committee for Latin-American Studies (21 Winchester Road, Oxford OX2 6NA)
B. Phil. Latin-American Studies

5. United States Studies

Keele: Department of American Studies (The University, Keele, Staffordshire ST 5 5BG)
M.A. United States History and Institutions

London: Institute of United States Studies (31 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9EZ)
M.A. Area Studies

Sussex: Graduate Division, American Studies (Falmer,
Brighton BN1 9QN)
M.A. American Studies

6. South East Asia
Kent: Faculty of Social Sciences (The University, Canterbury,
Kent)
M.A. South East Asian Studies

7. South Asia
Cambridge: Faculty of Oriental Studies (The University,
Cambridge)
Research Training
Sussex: Graduate Division, African and Asian Studies
(Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN)
M.A. South Asian Studies

8. Middle East
Durham: Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (Old
Shire Hall, Durham)
Dip. Middle Eastern Studies

9. Far East (Research Training only)
Cambridge: Faculty of Oriental Studies (The University,
Cambridge)
Glasgow: Consultative Committee on Modern Chinese Studies
(Glasgow W 2)
Sheffield: Centre of Japanese Studies (The University,
Western Bank, Sheffield S10 2TN)
M.A. Area Studies

10. Commonwealth
London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies (27 Russell
Square, London WC1B 5DS)

Appendix IV: Postgraduate training in international relations

Aberdeen: Department of Politics (The University, Aberdeen)
    M. Litt. Strategic Studies
Aberystwyth: Department of International Politics (University College of Wales, Llandinam Building, Penglais, Aberystwyth)
    M. Sc. (Econ.) British Foreign Policy in 20th Century
    M. Sc. (Econ.) Strategic Studies
    Research Training
Bradford: Department of Peace Studies (University of Bradford, Bradford 7, Yorkshire)
    M. A. Peace Studies
Cambridge: Centre of International Studies (The University, Cambridge)
    Research Training
London:
    King's College: Department of War Studies (Strand, London WC2R 2LS)
        M. A. War Studies
        Research Training
    London School of Economics (Houghton Street, Aldwych, London WC2A 2AE)
        M. Sc. International Relations
        Research Training
    University College: Faculty of Laws (Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT)
        M. Sc. International Relations
        Research Training
Oxford: Faculty of Social Studies (Board of the Faculty of Social Studies, University Registry, Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3BD)
        B. Phil. International Relations
Southampton: Department of Politics (The University, Southampton SO9 5NH)
    M. Sc. International Relations
Surrey: Department of Linguistic and Regional Studies (Guildford, Surrey)
    Research Training
Surrey: Department of Economics
    M. Sc. Economics (International or Business)
Sussex: Graduate Division, International Relations (Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN)
    M. A. International Relations
    Research Training

Appendix V: Postgraduate training in development studies

1. Development Economics

East Anglia: School of Development Studies (University Plain, Norwich NOR 88C)
    M.A. Development Econ.
Glasgow: Department of Economics (Glasgow W. 2)
    M. Phil. Econ. Development
    Dip. Econ. Development
Leeds: School of Economic Studies (The University, Leeds LS2 9JT)
    M.A. Econ. Development
Leicester: Department of Economics (The University, Leicester LE1 7RH)
    M.A. Econ. Development
London: School of Oriental and African Studies (Department of Economics and Political Studies, 24 Woburn Square, London WC 1)
    M. Sc. Economics of Poor Countries and their Development
Manchester: Department of Economics (The University, Manchester M13 9 PL)
    Dip. Econ. Development
Oxford: Faculty of Social Studies (Board of the Faculty of Social Studies, University Registry, Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3BD)
    Dip. Econ. Development
St. Andrews: Department of Economics (St. Andrews University, St. Andrews, Fife)
    Dip./M. Litt. Econ. Development
Sussex: Graduate Division, Economics (Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN)
    M.A. Development Economics

2. Other Fields

Bradford: Centre for Project Planning for Developing Countries (University of Bradford, Bradford 7, Yorkshire)
    Research Training
City of London Polytechnic: Department of Social and Environmental Planning (117-119 Houndsditch, London EC3A 7BU)
    Research Training
East Anglia: School of Development Studies (University Plain, Norwich NOR 88C)
    Research Training

- London: University College (Centre for Urban Studies, 87 Gower Street, London WC 1)
    - Dip. Urban Studies (Developing Countries)
- Nottingham: Institute of Planning Studies (University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD)
    - M.A. Environmental Planning for Developing Countries
- Reading: School of Planning Studies (The University, Whiteknight's Park, Reading, Berkshire)
    - M. Phil. Regional and Urban Planning Studies (developing countries)
- Sussex: Graduate Division of Development Studies (Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN)
    - M. Phil. Development Studies
    - Research Training

FRANCE

If one tries to give a picture of the research on international politics in France one runs into the problem of definition, which cannot be solved a priori or purely conceptually. Political science and the study of international relations are relatively new disciplines and their institutional autonomy has emerged only slowly and incompletely. There is less autonomy in France than in other countries, for example the United States, and though this autonomy is likely to grow in the future it will never be total given the close and indissoluble ties between these disciplines and other related fields such as sociology, law, economics and history. If, in the interests of coherence, we were to take a strict and narrow definition of international politics, we would be in danger of excluding most of the research which, though not dealing exclusively or primarily with international politics, nevertheless makes an important and interesting contribution to the study of this subject. For mainly empirical reasons we have included in this study research in the following fields:

- International relations, stricto sensu, studied from a sociological or theoretical point of view; international law and international economics.
- Political science studies on countries other than France undertaken for comparative purposes.
- Studies on trans-national problems with important political implications, such as race relations, economic development, etc.
- Strategic studies.

With such a loose definition, I have had to use my judgement whether or not to include this or that individual research project,

---

France
Jean-Pierre Deriennic, Assistant de Recherche, Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales, Paris; Dominique Moisi, Maitre Assistant, Université de Paris X, Nanterre.

and obviously not everyone will agree with my judgement on how much bearing the work of lawyers, economists or sociologists has on political problems. I have chosen to take too broad rather than too narrow a definition because France tends to lag behind in international research, particularly as far as global studies are concerned, though regional studies are better represented, and no doubt I have included numerous projects only remotely connected with our subject, but I hope at least that I have managed not to omit any important research projects.

I--THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

In France most research in the humanities is done within the universities or in organisations controlled by the Secretary of State for the Universities. All the centres in provincial towns that we have included come under the universities. In Paris there are a few privately owned centres.

Before 1968 French universities were divided into three main faculties: Letters, Science and Law. Sociology, anthropology and history came under the faculty of Letters and political science and economics under the faculty of Law. The only exceptions to this were the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris. Several new universities have been created in Paris and in certain large provincial towns since 1968, and the former faculties have been replaced by Teaching and Research Units (T.R.U.). This has led to a more flexible organisation and meant that certain disciplines, separated in the past, could be regrouped. Very often, however, the change has amounted to a change in name only.

Because of this very great structural rigidity in French universities and the almost total lack of any money except that coming from public funds, it has not been possible to establish independent departments for the study of political science and international relations. Today political science is autonomous nearly everywhere, but the study of international relations comes almost entirely under political science, law and economics. It is this rigidity which has prevented the creation of interdisciplinary organisations in France, like for example the peace research centres which have been set up in other countries.

In higher education the teaching of international relations at the level of the 1st and 2nd cycles nearly all comes under international law. At doctoral level (3rd cycle) political science and international relations are more clearly distinguished from their related disciplines. In most of the centres included in this study 3rd cycle teaching and research are closely linked. The students take part in research seminars on subjects which interest the researchers, and it is the latter who supervise the theses. The only exceptions to this are the few non-university centres. Most of the researchers working in the T.R.U., or in the specialised institutes which are part of the T.R.U., are lecturers primarily engaged in teaching and students working for the doctorate. This has the advantage of creating close ties between teaching and research, but makes it difficult to estimate the real potential of these institutions for pure research.

Most of these doing social science research are to be found in the departments of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.

The Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes is a doctoral level research institution, independent of the Paris universities and coming directly under the Ministry of Education. Its sixth section (economics and social science) has important departments of sociology, anthropology and cultural area studies.

There are two important departments in the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques: the Centre for the study of French political life, which does not concern us here, and the Centre for the study of International Relations, which we shall be coming back to later.

The Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique makes an important contribution to social science research, either through its laboratories and its own relatively few research teams or by helping centres belonging to other institutions. It helps in three ways: by giving material help for research from a laboratory or a team "belonging to the C.N.R.S.," by paying researchers employed by the C.N.R.S. who are working in different centres, or by financing definite research projects. The development of research in numerous university centres depends on their being able to get the collaboration of researchers paid by the C.N.R.S.

By and large it can be said that research policy in France is much more concerned with financing posts for researchers than financing research projects. This had the advantage of insuring that researchers have great intellectual independence and it results in considerable ideological diversity, but its drawback is that it makes it difficult to define a coherent policy. The research programmes are not decided on at the highest level, but at the lowest, by the different centres or even by researchers individually.

Typical also of France is the lack of communication between those studying and those engaged in international politics, except in the field of defence studies. Government officials, military men and diplomats live in one world, academics in another and there is little contact between the two and much of the information the former could gain from the latter is ignored. Conversely, many of the studies made by diplomats abroad remain outside the academic market and are never published, more because of tradition than for reasons of political secrecy. A few of them are published by La Documentation Française, which also plays an important role distributing information by translating and publishing articles and official texts from abroad and by publishing articles by French researchers.

There are better relations between university research and the Press. Many researchers occasionally write for newspapers and many journalists have frequent contact with centres working in their field when they do not actually belong to them. One or two well-known journalists like André Fontaine, Michel Tatu or Jean Lacouture should be included among the foremost specialists in international politics.

II--INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The study of international relations in France was born of diplomatic history and of law, either directly of international law, or indirectly of political science. Traditionally sociologists are very little interested in international politics, with two notable exceptions: Gaston Bouthoul, whom we shall be talking about later, and, of course, Raymond Aron.

Raymond Aron's writings have had a decisive influence on all work done on international relations in France. Aron, who was much influenced by German sociology and by Max Weber, represents a minority trend in French sociology, which is primarily Durkheimian; but for this very reason he is closer to the most important sociological movements in the Anglo Saxon countries. His writings interested a number of French intellectuals in what was being done in this field in other parts of the world. His method, that of "historical sociology," was to broaden and systematize the traditional approach to diplomatic history. The final and most significant factor in the development of research in international relations since the second World War is the appearance of nuclear weapons and the fact that these have led a number of universities to take an interest in strategy, a field hitherto exclusively military. Aron was the first French academic to take a serious interest in strategic problems and to relate them to sociological analysis, thus helping to "modernise" French research in international relations.

No major contribution to the theory of international relations has been published in France since "Paix et Guerre entre les Nations" appeared in 1962. The strategic debate has been dominated by the problem of the nuclear arming of France and France's relations with her allies, and this has made it much more a political than a scientific debate. However, certain writings, Beaufre's for example, are noteworthy.

There are three important research centres in France whose main task is to study international relations. The oldest is the Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangère (2). The research done here is closely connected with major current diplomatic problems. It is not a university centre and does no teaching. It is attached to a non-profit organisation and a few C.N.R.S. researchers work there. One of its main tasks is to organise conferences and study sessions where those in different professions working on international relations--diplomats, journalists, academics--can meet.

The Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales (27), part of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, is not only a centre for international relations. It is run partly on a geographical basis and a number of its research teams are working on the political problems of a country or a particular cultural area. Much of its time is devoted to international relations: international conflicts, the relations between the two super-powers in Europe and elsewhere, international organisations, the building and growth of the European Economic Community, relations between the third world and the industrialised nations. Those researchers at the centre who are not primarily interested in international relations do occasionally, when undertaking some joint project, tackle the question of the foreign relations of the country they are studying, or the impact of great international problems on its politics. What is original about the C.E.R.I. is that it brings together research workers of different disciplines and widely differing interests and gives them the opportunity of working together.

The third important centre of international relations is the Institut du Droit de la Paix et du Développement (69) at Nice. Though founded by a group of international law specialists, its scope goes beyond the field of law in the narrow sense of the term. It studies the problems of international cooperation and assistance, European integration and the juridical and political problems raised by the protection of the environment and the exploitation of the sea bed.

We must add the names of two other organisations which do not belong in the institutional field of political science, but which have made methodological and theoretical contributions to the study of international relations. They are: firstly the Centre Européen de Sociologie Historique (17) directed by Raymond Aron. Its field of research is the sociology of the developed countries. Part of its work is a study of American foreign policy and the theory of international relations. We have already explained why it enjoys great prestige. Secondly, the Centre de Recherches d'Histoire des Relations Internationales Contemporaines (33), directed by Jean-Baptiste Duroselle. This centre has a team of historians working on international relations in the twentieth century. Its work is not only historical; much of it is devoted to methodology, an analysis of international relations and to the sociology of decision making in foreign policy.

The Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherche des Problèmes Internationaux (7b), which has just been set up on the initiative of such well-known names as Raymond Aron, and which is attached to the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, is a simple research body organising conferences and seminars on a European level on international economic problems, strategy and the historical approach to international relations.

The problems of training and of the expansion of the European Economic Community have excited keen interest in France during the past twenty years. In addition to the Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales and the Institut du Droit de la Paix et du Développement numerous other European research centres concentrating on the juridical aspects of these problems have been set up in different universities. During recent years, specialists in international law have been turning away from the problems of European integration to look at problems to do with the protection of the environment and the laws governing the high seas.

France lags behind North America and North Western Europe in peace research. However, defence studies are beginning to be developed. The Centre d'Etudes Politiques de Défense (40), set up in the University of Paris I by Pierre Dabezies, is a teaching and research centre which combines the strategic, political and sociological points of view. Gaston Bouthoul has pioneered the sociological study of the phenomena of collective violence, but the Institut Francais de Polémologie (10), which he directs on a very limited budget and with a severely restricted staff is largely cut off from the main stream of international research in general and French research in particular. The French centre most like one of the foreign peace research centres, with the twin interests of international research and transnational political problems, is the Institut du Droit de la Paix et du Développement at Nice.

Research in France has been growing rapidly in the past decade, but the relative backwardness of France in this field comes partly from the institutional problems mentioned above and partly from the cultural and ideological character of French society. The origins of peace research in the Anglo Saxon and Germanic countries have been coloured by a strongly marked Protestant attitude to the problems of war and peace. French lack of interest in this field of research goes hand in hand with the French tendency to leave strategic problems to the army, and French indifference to such problems as nuclear arming and conscientious objection. The most recent trends in peace research, which is now devoted less to international war than to exploitation, development and economic justice, have also met with a very peculiar intellectual response in France. These problems were already occupying the attention of Marxist-inspired political movements and economists, the latter frequently being influenced by the former. The ideological and scientific functions performed by the peace research centres abroad have been performed in France by organisations such as the I.E.D.E.S. (42) or the I.D.F.E.D. (6), which were in existence before peace research began to develop.

III--PROBLEMS OF "FOREIGN" POLICY

An odd heading, but we have not managed to find a better one and under it we have put research with negative points in common: research not on industrial relations *stricto sensu* and on countries other than France. Current French research of this category includes three main types of question: political research on foreign countries, studies on development and underdevelopment, and the study of race relations and racial conflicts.

Political science research on the industrialised countries: the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Italy is closely linked with research on France and the same methodology is applicable. French political science has produced its best results in two main fields: one the analysis of the running of institutions, government, parliament, the administration, parties, trades unions; the other the analysis of behaviour, the study of opinion and electoral geography and sociology. This type of research is done by the *Bureau d'analyses sociologiques européennes* (1) directed by Mattei Dogan, by the *Centre d'Etude des Systèmes Occidentaux* (38) directed by Maurice Duverher or by researchers from the C.E.R.I. (27). Research on Eastern Europe has had to be directed less to the study of behaviour and more to the study of institutions and ideology (15, 39, 74).

One of the great weaknesses of French political science is its failure to have produced an overall analytical framework, which would take in the totality of a political system, comparable to the American systematic or functional analytical models. This explains why French political science research has done little to analyse the politics of the underdeveloped countries and has left the study of these areas to ethnologists or economists. Analyses of the political systems of the Third World, which have been made in centres specialising in the study of cultural areas, have no common methodological orientation. It may be that in the future research into "political anthropology" by Georges Balandier, or into "actionalist sociology" by Alain Touraire, who directs the Centre d'Etude des Mouvements Sociaux (16), a centre whose research is partially on Latin America, will give "politicists" in France a better means of analysing those political systems remotest from their own.

There is considerable research on development, going back to the colonial history of France and to the tradition of "overseas studies," which were frequently strongly technically, geographically and agronomically oriented. Interest has continued--at least in the case of Africa--after the independence of the former colonies, because of their ties with France, because of the large numbers of students from former colonies studying in France and because of the French government's active policy of technical cooperation.

The most characteristic example of an organisation for French development research is the Institut d'Etudes du Développement Economique et Social (42) of which Francois Perreux was director for many years. Since 1968 this teaching and research institute has been part of the University of Paris I. Its research is on very technical subjects like education systems, nutrition and health and also on the economic growth of the underdeveloped countries and the more general, sociological, cultural and political problems that go with it. Various other university centres are working in the same field, particularly at Nanterre (54, 55, 56) and at Grenoble (64, 65). Development studies is also one of the few fields in which private organisations like the Centre de Recherche et d'Action Sociales (3) and the I.R.F.E.D. (6) are working.

The current trend is for French development research to draw nearer to international relations studies. The theory of imperialism, research on the relation between underdevelopment and the export of raw materials or dependence on foreign capital, have led economists and sociologists to take an interest in international economic exchanges and the relations between the political forces on which they depend. This trend in Third World studies coincides with a growing interest in the study of economic relations between Europe and the United States, particularly on the subject of the exchange of capital. A decade ago European integration was the most rapidly expanding field of research; today it is the study of multinational companies. Thus development studies go hand in hand with recent trends in peace research, or more precisely, these two movements, very different in origin tend to converge on the same ground because of international circumstances and ideological fashions.

There is considerable research in France on race relations and racial conflict. These are one of the areas being studied by Asian (24, 25) and African (32, 60) centres, and by centres with no specific geographical area like the Laboratoire d'Ethnologie (48) of the University of Paris V, and the Comité de Recherche de d'Information sur les minorities ethniques (50) of the University of Paris VII which is working on ethnic minorities and genocide, and the Institut d'Etudes et de Recherche interethniques et interculturelles (71) at Nice, which not only does research on the Third World but also on the problems of ethnic minorities in the industrialised countries. Georges Fischer also has a team of C.E.R.I. (27) researchers working on these problems.

Apart from this last exception, there is still a wide gap between the study of race relations and of international relations, and there is little communication and few exchanges between the specialists in these two fields. Obviously this is deplorable because international conflicts are often essentially racial and because racial conflicts, even when they are only within one state, often have wide international repercussions. If French researchers on international relations follow the trend in other countries, it will be very useful for them to exchange ideas with specialists in race relations.

IV--THE STUDY OF CULTURAL AREAS

This category partially overlaps with the two preceding ones. In it we have put centres which are in some degree interdisciplinary, whose common denominator is the study of a country or group of countries and our criterion has been in most cases language. It is difficult to give an overall presentation. A crude quantitative estimate shows that Africa is the region best covered by French research and that the countries which have not been studied are those that are both too small and too linguistically isolated to belong to a wider group: the Scandinavian countries, Turkey, Iran, Korea.

The four languages most extensively taught are those of France's neighbours, Great Britain, Germany, Spain and Italy. The study of the societies of the countries where these languages are spoken has remained centred on the "civilisations," that is, essentially on the literature and very little on the social sciences. There are one or two exceptions, the most important of which is the Groupe de recherches en civilisation britannique contemporaine (45) directed by Monica Charlot. Most of its work is on the political society and institutions of Great Britain.

Eastern Europe in the political sense, and the Slavic countries in the historical and cultural sense, are largely identical. The

Slavists are more politically orientated than students of English and German. There are two types of centre studying the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. Some, such as the *Centre d'Etudes sur l'U.R.S.S. et l'Europe Orientale* (22) of the E.P.H.E. are mainly historical and take only a marginal interest in contemporary political problems. Others, like the *Centre de Recherches sur l'U.R.S.S. de les Pays de l'Est* (74) at Strasbourg are more concerned with political problems. Economists work side by side with students of law and political science when it comes to research on Eastern Europe, because, in these countries planning is inextricably linked with both economic and political problems (14, 15).

Studies on Latin America have been developed in a different intellectual context as interest in this part of the world has been less cultural than economic and social. The main institution specialising in Latin American studies is the *Centre d'Etudes politiques économiques et sociales de l'Amérique latine* (46), part of the University of Paris III. The research done in this centre is much less historical and cultural than that done in other centres studying cultural areas, and much more like that done in centres specialising in development studies. After Africa, Latin America is the part of the world most studied in these centres. The C.E.R.I. (27) and the *Centre d'Etude des Mouvements Sociaux* (16) devote a considerable amount of their time to Latin America. For France Latin America has been culturally less foreign and linguistically less inaccessible than Africa and Asia and for that reason has excited less specific interest. But Latin America enjoys a more established position in social science research in the strict sense of the term.

Many universities have institutes specialising in the study of black Africa, and a large number of political science theses in France are on African problems. Latin America is the sociologists' field, Africa the ethnologists'. This difference, which corresponds to traditional inter-disciplinary differences, is probably going to disappear, because recent developments in both sociological and ethnological theory tend to deny the existence of this difference. But, as we have already said, there is at the moment a great gap between the preoccupations and methodology of French political scientists on the one hand and the reality of African societies and political systems on the other. The chief centres specialising in African studies are the *Centre de recherche africaine* (32), director Georges Balandier, the *Centre d'Etudes africaines* (20) of the E.P.H.E. and the *Centre d'Etudes d'Afrique Noire* (60) at Bordeaux. It is the third of these which is most concerned with contemporary political problems.

There may be first rate Arabists in France but there is little research on the Maghrib and the Middle East. The *Centre d'Etudes*

Maghrebines (21) of the E.P.H.E. is almost entirely ethnological. The Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes sur les Sociétés méditerranéennes (57) at Aix-en-Provence studies the political problems of north Africa.

Research on south Asia and the Far East is fairly highly developed if one bears in mind the cultural gap and lack of historical ties between France and all the countries in this part of the world except Vietnam. Most of the specialised centres are part of the E.P.H.E.: Centre d'Etudes chinoises (23), Centre d'études indiennes de sciences sociales (24), Centre de Documentation et de recherches sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le Monde insulindien (25), Groupe d'études et de documentation sur le Japon contemporain (26). Of necessity all these centres have a very strong cultural and linguistic bias. A few of the researchers working in them, particularly those studying China and Japan are interested in contemporary political and social problems.

The study of cultural areas is the biggest sector of research that we have listed. Without making the mistake of annexing to political science or to the study of international relations all the research carried out by these widely differing centres, we can consider it as an intellectual base from which the study of international relations and international politics could be developed.

One of the main difficulties for social science research in France, as no doubt in other countries too, is institutional and intellectual fragmentation. This fragmentation is a legacy of the structural rigidity of French universities, which, at least in practice, has survived the 1968 reforms. But it is certainly more the result of intellectual than administrative habits and shows itself in the breaking up of the methodologies and a partitioning of specialities, which is worse than the partitioning of institutions. To overcome this handicap we must develop the means of communication between institutions working in different disciplines and on different subjects, at the same time as developing a theory which will enable researchers in different specialities to find a common language. Political science and the study of international relations are only particular branches of sociology, as are economics and ethnology.

APPENDIX

As so many of the research centres have names beginning "Centre" or "Institut" we decided that it would not be very useful if we put them in simple alphabetical order. Instead we have decided to classify them by region. First come the Paris centres in alphabetical order, followed by the centres attached to the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. These are followed by the University of Paris centres in numerical order. Organisations outside Paris are placed in alphabetical order of the towns where they are located. The reference numbers relate to those used in the body of the text.

(1) Bureau d'analyses sociologiques européennes
82, rue Cardinet
75017 Paris Tel: 267.07.60
Director: Mattei Dogan
C.N.R.S. research team

Political and Social Ecology of Western Europe. Trade Unions in Sweden, Great Britain and U.S.A. (A. Benahmou-Hirtz). Political behaviour of workers in Western Europe. (M. Dogan)

(2) Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangère
54 rue de Varenne
75008 Paris Tel: 548.21.54
Director: Jacques Vernant
Non-profit organisation

Research on International Politics
- The situation in the Far East in the light of new economic and strategic data. (F. Joyaux)
- Security and Cooperation in Europe. (J. Klein and W. Schutze)
- Arms control and disarmament. (J. Klein)
- The development of the Near East. (B. Vernier)
- The development of Europe in the light of the new energy situation. (V. Labouret and V. Vassilev)
- Internal factors in American foreign policy. (A. Joxe and J. Finkelstein)
- The socio-political development of Latin America and the international system. (A. Joxe)

Publication: Politique étrangère (6 times per year)

(3) Centre de Recherche et d'Action Sociales
15, rue Raymond Marcheron,
92170 Vanves Tel: 644.02.20
Director: Philip Laurent
A denominational association (Law of 1901). Certain of its members teach at the Catholic Institute in Paris.

The development of Marxism in the U.S.S.R. The economies of the Eastern countries. Ideological development in the People's Republic of China. Industrialisation in the developing countries. Policies of the developed countries towards the Third World. The role of multi-national companies. Oil as a political problem. (H. Madelin, R. Bosc)

Publications: Projet (monthly)
Collected papers: Recherches économiques et sociales
Tiers Monde et développement

(4) Centre de Sociologie des Organisations
20, rue Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire,
75005 Paris Tel: 587.12.77
Director: Michel Crozier
C.N.R.S. research team

Study of administrative institutions and the process of decision making. In particular, research on the role of the State in the field of industry in various European countries. (E. Friedberg)

(5) Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient
22, avenue du Président Wilson,
75016 Paris Tel: 553.21.35
Director: Jean Filliozat
Public body attached to the Ministry of Education.

Research on the civilizations of China, Japan, India, Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Indonesia.

Publication: Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient (annual)

(6) Education et Développement--Institut International de Recherche et de Formation--I.R.F.E.D.
49, rue de la Glacière,
75013 Paris Tel: 331.98.91
Director: Roland Colin
Association (under Law of 1901)

Studies on teaching systems and on agrarian development strategy.

Publications: Développement et Civilisation (quarterly)
Bulletin bibliographique (quarterly)

(7) Groupe d'Etudes Prospectives Internationales
30, avenue d'Iena
75016 Paris Tel: 525.51.00
Director: Michel Courcier
Organisation attached to the Ministry of Economics and Finance and to the Centre Francais du Commerce Extérieur.

Research on international commercial and financial mechanisms. The socioeconomic situation in the Eastern countries and in certain Third World countries. Forecasts on East-West relations. (G. Sokoloff)

(7b) Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches des Problèmes Internationaux (G.E.R.P.I.)
Maison des Sciences de l'Homme
54 boulevard Raspail,
75006 Paris Tel: 544.38.49
Secretary: Dominique Moisi
Pluri-disciplinary research team

Research on international politics. Economic, historical and strategic view of international relations.

(8) Institut de Droit Comparé
28, rue Saint-Guillaume,
75007 Paris Tel: 222.35.93
Director: René Rodière
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

East-West legal relations. Legal problems of European integration. Space law. Nuclear law. Maritime law. Environmental problems.

(9) Société de Législation Comparé
28, rue Saint-Guillaume,
75007 Paris Tel: 222.35.93
Director: Maxime Letourneur
Research team associated with the C.N.R.S.

Research on the legal systems of the principal countries.

Publication: Revue Internationale de droit comparé. (quarterly)

(10) Institut Francais de Polémologie
7, rue Gutenberg,
75015 Tel: 577.94.67

Director: Gaston Bouthoul
Organisation supported by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Ministry of Defence, and the Ministry of Education.

Sociological study of armed conflicts and phenomena of collective violence in historical times and in the modern world.

Publication: Etudes Polémologiques. (quarterly)

(11) Institut de Science Economique Appliquée
11, boulevard de Sébastopol,
75001 Paris Tel: 508.93.70
Director: Francois Perroux
Part of the Collège de France; Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

Research on the economy of the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe and on international economic relations.

Publications: Economie Appliquée (quarterly)
Economies et Sociétés (monthly)

(12) Laboratoire de Prospective Appliquée
52, rue des Saints-Pères,
75007 Paris Tel: 548.46.82
Director: André-Clément Decouflé
Research unit of the international association "Futuribles" (Law of 1901)

Politics of the environment, multi-national companies and the future of the international system.

(13) Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer
24, rue Bayard,
75008 Paris Tel: 225.31.52
Director: G. Camus
Public body part of the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Cooperation

Study of agrarian problems and the politics of development in various African countries.

Publications: Cahiers ORSTOM. Série Sciences Humaines (quarterly)
Mémoires ORSTOM
Travaux et Documents de l'ORSTOM
L'Homme d'Outre-Mer

(14) **Service de Recherches Juridiques Comparatives**
27, rue Paul Bert
94200 Ivry Tel: 672.71.38
Directors: Denis Tallon and Michel Lesage
C.N.R.S. Laboratory

Comparative Private Law and International Private Law
Law and institutions in the socialist countries.

Publications: Annuaire de législation francaise et étrangère
Revue de l'Est (six monthly)

(15) **Economie et Techniques de planification des Pays de l'Est**
27, rue Paul Bert
94200 Ivry Tel: 672.71.38
Director: Eugène Zaleski
C.N.R.S. research team

Planning systems. Foreign trade planning

Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (VIth section. Economics and Social Science)

(16) **Centre d'Etude des Mouvements Sociaux**
54, boulevard Raspail,
75006 Paris Tel: 544.38.49
Director: Alain Touraine
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

One of the Centre's four research teams is studying social conflicts, and political and ideological systems, with particular reference to South-East Asia (A. Abdel-Malek), and with particular reference to Latin America (R. de Las Casas, A. Meister, D. and M. Pécaut, S. Sigal, A. Touraine, G. de Sierra).

(17) **Centre Européen de Sociologie Historique**
6, rue de Tournon,
75006 Paris Tel: 633.39.00
Director: Raymond Aron
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

The Sociology of international relations and research on the foreign policy of the U.S.A. (R. Aron, F. Dubost)

Publication: Archives Européennes de Sociologie. (six monthly)

(18) Centre d'Etudes de planification socialiste
17, rue des Feuillantines,
75005, Paris Tel: 633.36.38
Director: Charles Betelheim

Analysis of the economic policy of the U.S.S.R. and China. Foreign trade and foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. (B. Duhamel)

Collected papers: Problèmes de planification: cahiers du Centre d'études de planification socialiste.

(19) Centre International de recherche sur l'environnement et le développement
54, boulevard Raspail,
75006 Paris Tel: 544.38.49
Director: Ignacy Sachs

Study of development policies and relations between the Third World and the industrialised countries.

Collected papers: Environnement et sciences sociales.

(20) Centre d'Etudes Africaines
20, rue de la Baume,
75008 Paris Tel: 359.92.08
Directors: P. Alexandre, M. Augé, G. Balandier, H. Brunschwig, P. Mercier, D. Paulme, W. G. L. Randles, G. Sautter
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

Documentation and research centre for anthropology, geography, sociology and history of tropical Africa. Part of the centre's research is on economic and political problems of Africa, decolonisation and neocolonialism.

Publications: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines (quarterly)
Bulletin d'information et de liaison: études africaines (quarterly)
Fiches d'ouvrages: Sciences humaines africanistes (3 times a year)
Bibliographie ethnographique de l'Afrique sud-saharienne (annual)

(21) Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines
4, rue de Chevreuse,
75006 Paris
Directors: P. Marthelot and G. Tillion

Ethnological and linguistic research. Studies on urbanisation and rural depopulation in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean.

(22) Centre d'Etudes sur l'U.R.S.S. et l'Europe oriental
131 boulevard Saint Michel,
75005 Paris Tel: 033.99.61
Directors: A. Bennigsen, A. Besancon, G. Dagron, M. Ferro, G. Haupt, B. Kerblay, R. Portal, M. Confino, L. Haimson.

Most of the centre's research is on the history of Russia and the 1917 Revolution, but there is also research on contemporary Soviet society, bureaucracy, the intelligentsia and on international socialism.

Publication: Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique (quarterly)
Collected papers: Etude sur l'histoire, l'économie et la sociologie des pays slaves.
Matériaux pour l'histoire du socialisme international.

(23) Centre d'Etudes Chinoises
54 boulevard Raspail,
75006 Paris Tel: 544.38.49
Directors: L. Bianco, J. Chesneaux, Set. V. Elisseeff, J. Gernet, A. Rygaloff, D. Holzmann, J. Guillermaz, M. Cartier.

Research on the history and civilisation of China and on contemporary social problems. (J. Chesneaux, L. Bianco, J. L. Domenach) Research on internal politics (M. Bruguiere) and external politics (F. Joyaux)

Publication: Revue bibliographique de sinologie (annual)
Collected papers: Matériaux pour l'Etude de l'Extreme-Orient moderne et contemporain.

(24) Centre d'Etudes indiennes de sciences sociales
54, boulevard Raspail,
75006 Paris Tel: 544.38.49
Director: Madeleine Biardeau
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

Research on the history and civilisation of India and on the Indian communist parties. (V. Graff) Research on interethnic relations and the socio-political consequences of economic development. (J. Pouchepadass)

(25) Centre de Documentation et de Recherche sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le monde insulindien

6, rue de Tournon,
75006 Paris　　Tel: 639.61.43
Director: Georges Condominas
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

Ethnological and linguistic studies on South East Asia and Madagascar. Research on inter-ethnic relations.

(26) Groupe d'Etudes et de documentation sur le Japon contemporain

4, rue de Chevreuse,
75006 Paris　　Tel: 633.43.64
Directors: P. Pons and C. Sautter

Research on the political and economic life of Japan

Fondation National des Sciences Politiques

(27) Centre d'Etude des Relations Internationales

27 rue Saint-Guillaume,
75007 Paris　　Tel: 260.39.60
Director: Jean Meyriat
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

Research on the international relations and the internal and external political problems of various countries and regions of the world.

- Latin America (F. Chevalier)
- South East Asia (P. Devilliers)
- China and the Far East (C. Cadart)
- The U.S.A. (S. Hurtig)
- The Arab world (R. Leveau)
- Western Europe (A. Grosser); Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Italy
- The U.S.S.R.--Eastern Europe (H. Carrère d'Encausse)
- European integration (P. Gerbet)
- International system (P. Hassner)
- Development problems (G. Fischer)

Publications: Much of the work done by C.E.R.I. research workers is published in the F.R.S.P. publications
Revue francaise de science politique (6 times per year)
Collected papers: Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques

(28) Centre des Hautes Etudes Administratives sur l'Afrique et l'Asie Moderne
13, rue du Four,
75006 Paris Tel: 326.96.90
Director: Georges Malecot

Research on the political, economic and social development of the countries of Africa and Asia

(29) Service d'Etude de l'Activité Economique et de la situation sociale de la F.N.S.P.
4, rue Michelet,
75006 Paris Tel: 033.50.66
Directors: J. M. Jeanneney, R. Barre, M. Flamant, J. C. Casanova

Study of the economic policy of the industrialised countries with particular reference to the U.S.A. Study of international economic and technological exchanges.

Publication: l'Année économique.

University of Paris I

(30) Analyse de l'Economie Progressive
12, place du Panthéon,
75005 Paris Tel: 326.21.50
Director: Alain Barrère
Field of Research: Economic development

Study on the relation between growth and international trade

(31) Groupe d'Etudes des Relations économiques internationales
Centre d'Econométrie,
2, rue Cujas,
75005 Paris Tel: 326.21.50
Director: Bernard Ducros
Research team associated with the C.N.R.S.
The Centre is divided into 5 research teams:
- International economic situation (B. Ducros)
- The multinational company (C. A. Michalet)
- International industrial strategy (M. Gillard)
- International economic integration (M. Debatisse)
- Theory of international specialisation (G. Grellet)

(32) Centre de Recherche africaine

17 rue de la Sorbonne,
75005 Paris Tel: 633.83.68
Directors: G. Balandier and Y. Person
Service shared by Universities I, III and V

Research on the geography, history, linguistic development, ethnology and sociology of Africa. Certain studies have some bearing on political problems, urbanisation, relations between the ethnic and political forces (particularly those studies under the direction of L. V. Thomas)

(33) Centre de Recherches d'Histoire des Relations Internationales Contemporaines

17, rue de la Sorbonne,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Director: J. B. Duroselle

The Centre's research is on the history of international relations in the 20th century and on the application of the social sciences (economics and sociology) to the study of international relations.

Research teams: Theoretical studies (systems analysis and systems theory) (J. B. Duroselle)
Study of decision making in international relations (J. B. Duroselle)
Study of Eastern Europe (A. Snejdarek)

Publications: Collection l'Univers contemporain, histoire générale du XX siècle, 60 volumes planned.

(34) Centre de Recherche d'Histoire Nord-Americaine

17, rue de la Sorbonne,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Director: Claude Fohlen

Research on the contemporary history of the U.S.A. and Canada. Research in progress on American imperialism in the 20th century.

(35) Centre de Recherche sur l'Histoire des Slaves

17, rue de la Sorbonne,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Director: Roger Portal

History of Russia and Poland, research on Soviet society

(36) Centre d'Etude des Droits Africains
17 rue de la Sorbonne
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Directors: MM. Blanc-Jouvan and Conac
Research team working on local administration in black Africa (M. Conac)

(37) Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherche de Droit International
12, place du Panthéon,
75005 Paris Tel: 633.74.40
Director: M. Colliard
Departments: Space, Nuclear, Environment law. Law of the high seas. International organisations. International economic law.

Department of Political Science

(38) Centre d'Etude des Systèmes Occidentaux
1, rue Victor Cousin,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Director: Maurice Duverger

The Centre has regrouped the Centre for parliamentary studies (research team associated with the C.N.R.S.), the Centre for political organisations and the Centre for information and advertising studies. The Centre for parliamentary studies is doing research on foreign countries (Finland, Austria) as part of a study on semi-presidential regimes.

(39) Centre d'Etude des Systèmes Socialistes
17, rue de la Sorbonne,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Director: Michel Lessage
Research on the political and administrative constitutions of the socialist countries.

(40) Centre d'Etudes Politiques de Défense
1, rue Victor Cousin,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Director: Pierre Dabezies

Research on military sociology and strategy with particular reference to American and Soviet strategy (P. Dabezies, L. Hamon) Strategic problems (P. M. Gallois, L. Poirier) The army and politics (P. Dabezies, J. Planchais)

63

(41) Equipe de Recherche sur les relations et organisations internationales
1, rue Victor Cousin
75005 Paris Tel: 325.24.13
Director: Marcel Merle
Research on the theory of international relations, international organisations and the foreign policies of the Third World countries.

(42) Institut d'Etudes du Développement Economique et Social
5, rue des Colonnes du Trone,
75012 Paris Tel: 344.72.96 and 345.36.41
Director: Charles Morazé

Four research groups: Economics and education (Isabelle Deble)
World growth and regional development (Boris Maldant and Milton Santos)
Health and Nutrition in the process of development (J. Morichau-Beauchant)
The Sociology of development (Le Thanh Khoi) "national" culture, tradition and modernity, cultural and economic development.

Publications: Collection "Thiers Monde" and "Etudes Tiers Monde" Review: "Tiers Monde" (quarterly)

University of Paris II

(43) Centre de Recherches de Droit International
12, place du Panthéon,
75005 Paris Tel: 633.74.40
Directors: H. Batifol and P. Francescakis
International Private Law and Comparative Law
Study of multinational companies (B. Goldman and P. Francescakis)

(44) U.E.R. de Sciences Politiques
12, place du Panthéon,
75005 Paris Tel: 326.21.50
Director: J. Cadart

Comparative study of political ideologies, elections, parties and parliamentary systems.

University of Paris III

(45) Groupe de Recherches en civilisation britannique contemporaine
5, rue de l'Ecole de Médicine,
75006 Paris Tel: 250.54.31
Director: Monica Charlot
Research team associated with the C.N.R.S.
Study of British political society and parliamentary elections

(46) Centre d'Etudes Politiques, Economiques et Sociales de l'Amérique latine
28, rue Saint-Guillaume,
75007 Paris Tel: 222.35.93
Director: Pierre Monbeig
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.

Political sociology; agrarian problems; economic development and integration; domination and dependence; the role of the multinational companies.

Publications: Cahiers des Amériques latines (twice yearly)
Collected papers: Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique latine
Cahiers de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique latine.

University of Paris IV

(47) Centre de Recherches sur l'Histoire des idées dans le monde anglo-américain
1, rue Victor Cousin,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.45.26
Director: Henri Laboucheix
Study of political and economic systems in relation to theory and political science

University of Paris V

(48) Laboratoire d'Ethnologie
48, rue Saint-Jacques,
75005 Paris Tel: 325.03.78
Director: Robert Cresswell
The Laboratory does research on the relation between culture and social change and in particular on racial conflict in the new states and on the effects of economic change on social stratification.

University of Paris VII

(49) Centre International de Recherche Africaine
2, place Jussieu,
75005 Paris Tel: 336.25.25
Director: Dika Akra Nya Bonambela
Research on inter-ethnic relations and the cultural problems of international cooperation.

(50) Comité de recherche et d'information sur les minorités ethniques
2, place Jussieu,
75005 Paris Tel: 336.25.25
Director: Robert Jaulin
Research on ethnic minorities in the world and on genocide.

(51) Centre de Recherche sur l'Asie Orientale
2, place Jussieu,
75005 Paris
Director: René Vienet
The modern history research team studies unpublished Chinese documents, the newspapers of the Red Guard and the manuscripts of contemporary political personalities.

University of Paris IX

(52) Institut de recherches et d'information socio-économiques
Place du Maréchal de Lattre de Tassigny,
75016 Paris Tel: 553.50.20
Director: Jacques Attali
Study of international monetary system and the multinational companies.

University of Paris X

(53) Groupe de recherches sociologiques
2, rue de Rouen,
92000 Nanterre Tel: 204.60.95
Director: Henri Mendras
C.N.R.S. research group
Part of the group's activity concerns the rural sociology of Eastern Europe and Greece, with particular reference to political behaviour in the rural society of Epirus.

(54) Centre d'anthropologie économique et sociale
2, rue de Rouen,
92000 Nanterre Tel: 204.60.95
Director: André Nicolai
Studies on the social and cultural aspects of economic development and on the internal and external political problems on the under-developed countries.

(55) Centre de Recherches Economiques et Sociales
2, rue de Rouen,
92000 Nanterre Tel: 204.60.95
Director: M. Llau
Centre for essentially economic studies certain of which are on the role of the multinational companies and foreign investment in Third World countries.

(56) Institut des sciences juridiques du développement
2, rue de Rouen,
92000 Nanterre Tel: 204.69.21
Director: Eugène Schaeffer
The Centre does research on law in the developing countries, on the international law of development and the international relations of the developing countries (G. Feuer) and on the role of the international organisations (G. Feuer) and their personnel (D. Ruzié)

Aix-en-Provence

(57) Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes sur les Sociétés Méditerranéennes
29, avenue Robert Schuman,
13100 Aix-en-Provence Tel: 27.74.30
Director: Maurice Flory
Laboratory associated with the C.N.R.S.
Research on the economy, sociology and politics of the countries of North Africa.

Publication: Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord
Collection du C.R.E.S.M.

(58) Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales et Communautaires
3, avenue Robert Schuman,
13100 Aix-en-Provence Tel: 26.23.94
Director: Maurice Flory

Research on international law and under-development and in particular cooperation between the E.E.C. and the under-developed countries.

Amiens

(59) Centre de Recherches sur les Relations Internationales
Campus Universitaire,
Chemin du Thil,
80000 Amiens Tel: 92.41.40
Director: Gérard Soulier
National questions in inter-state relations

Bordeaux

(60) Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire
Institut d'Etudes Politiques,
Domaine Universitaire,
33400 Talence Tel: 80.60.57
Director: Dimitri-Georges Lanroff
Research team associated to the C.N.R.S.
Cultural, economic and political problems of the African countries. African international relations, the struggle against colonialism, relations between black Africa and the Arab world (F. Constantin and C. Coulon). Study of inter-ethnic relations (G. Nicolas).

Publication: L'Année Africaine (annual)

Caen

(61) Centre d'Etudes Européennes
Esplanade de la Paix,
14000 Caen Tel: 81.59.10
Director: Jacques Mabileau
Study of Britain's membership of the European community and the legal problems of integration.

Dijon The Institut de relations internationales (U.E.R. of the University of Dijon) has two research centres:

(62) Centre de Recherche sur le droit des marchés et des investissements internationaux
4, boulevard Gabriel,
21000 Dijon Tel: 30.66.42
Director: Philippe Kahn
C.N.R.S. research team

Legal research on international economic relations, sociological research on commercial relations and investment in the Third World. Study of the organisations influencing these relations (GATT, CNUCED and multinational companies).

(63) Centre de Recherche et de Documentation européennes
4, boulevard Gabriel,
21000 Dijon
Director: M. Fromont
Study of the legal aspects of European economic integration.

Grenoble

(64) Institut de Recherche économique et de planification
B.P. 47
38040 Grenbole Cedex Tel: 87.99.61
Director: J. Dessau
Research and analysis and the economic and technical aspects of development. The "industrialisation and development" department makes a particular study of multinational companies (C. Palliox).

(65) Centre d'Etude et de Recherche sur l'administration économique et l'aménagement du territoire
B.P. 17
38040 Grenoble Cedex Tel: 87.99.41
Director: Lucien Nizard
Centre associated with the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques and research team associated with the C.N.R.S.

Research on the administrative and political problems of planning in France, Italy and Great Britain.

(66) Centre de Recherche d'Histoire économique, social et institutionelle
B.P. 47
38040 Grenoble Cedex Tel: 87.99.61
Director: Jean Maillet
Study of the origins and present aspects of under-development.

(67) Centre Universitaire de Recherche Européenne et Internationale
B.P. 47,
38040 Grenoble Cedex Tel: 87.99.61
Director: Louis Reboud
Study of the legal problems of the EEC and the European civil service.

Nantes

(68) Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche Européennes

Chemin de la Sensive du Tertre,
44000 Nantes Tel: 74.84.31
Director: Henri-Victor Mallard
European law and economics

Nice

(69) Institut du Droit de la Paix et du Développement

Avenue Robert Schuman,
06000 Nice Tel: 87.12.60
Director: René Jean Dupuy
T.R.U. of the University

The institute has 4 research teams:

- International aspects of the law of the environment (R. J. Dupuy): laws concerning the sea bed and marine pollution.
- France and the European Community. National public powers and the European Community (Joel Rideau).
- International cultural, scientific and technical cooperation (Jean Touscoz): cooperation between French-speaking countries and between France and the U.S.S.R.
- Technical assistance of the U.N. and the specialised institutions (Antoine Zarb and Mario Bettati).

(70) Centre de la Méditerranée moderne et contemporaine

117 rue de France,
06000 Nice Tel: 87.57.61
Director: André Nouschi
Attached to the Civilisations T.R.U. of the University

Analysis of growth models and economic backwardness in the Mediterranean countries.

Publication: Cahiers de la Méditerranée

(71) Institut d'Etudes et de Recherches Interethniques et Interculturelles

31, rue Verdi,
06000 Nice Tel: 87.00.93
Director: Pierre Bessaignet

Research on European inter-ethnic relations after the setting up of the Common Market, study of French-speaking tribes, the black populations in the world, problems of technical and cultural cooperation with the developing countries. The Centre d'Etudes sur l'Afrique Noire et l'Océan Indien (Jean Poirier) which does research on Madagascar and Reunion and the Centre d'Etudes Intellectuelles pour l'Iran et l'Asie Centrale (Aly Mazaheri) are attached to the Institute.

Publication: Ethnies (annual)
Collected papers: Relations interethniques et interculturelles.

Rennes

(72) Centre de Documentation et de Recherches Européennes
9, rue Jean Macé,
35000 Rennes Tel: 36.00.84
Director: Jean Raux
European law and external relations of the European Economic Community.

Strasbourg

(73) Centre d'Etudes Internationales et Européennes
Place d'Athènes,
67000 Strasbourg Tel: 36.61.30
Director: Gérard Cohen-Jonathan
Research on European institutions, the relations between the two Germanies and federalism

(74) Centre de Recherches sur l'U.R.S.S. et les pays de l'Est
Place d'Athènes,
67000 Strasbourg Tel: 36.61.30
Director: Alexandre Kiss
Research on the political systems and on the external policies of the U.S.S.R. and the countries of Eastern Europe, and on European cultural and scientific cooperation

(75) Centre d'Etudes Germaniques
5, quai Koch
67000 Strasbourg Tel: 35.59.40
Director: Francois Dreyfus
Study of the political life of the two Germanies since 1945

Publication: Revue d'Allemagne (quarterly)

(76) Institut Universitaire des Hautes Etudes Européennes
5, rue Schiller,
67000 Strasbourg Tel: 36.62.57
Director: J. P. Jacqué
Research on the formation of the E.E.C. and its external relations particular;y with Eastern Europe.

Toulouse

(77) Institut d'Etudes Internationales
Place Anatole France
31000 Toulouse Tel: 21.20.80
Director: Pierre Vellas
Development problems, international economic relations, external relations of the E.E.C.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Complexity, if not confusion, is the name of the game of international studies in the Federal Republic of Germany. Restricting our analysis to those disciplines of the social sciences which share some immediate policy relevance--i.e. political science, current history, sociology, and economics--and focusing it, more concretely, on studies of international relations, comparative government, development, and, to some extent, international economics and international law, this game can be said to take place within the following dimensions: some 40 universities, with about 20 research institutes, slightly less than 200 professors in political science alone, and an indeterminable, though doubtless sizeable number of students; more than 30 non-university-affiliated research institutes, with somewhere around 500 full-time research personnel. There are also nine Federal ministries engaged in the business of seeking advice and dispensing research funds; ministries of education in the eleven states of the Federal Republic; coordinating agencies set up by the *Bund* as well as the *Länder*; five major foundations granting individual as well as institutional support (not including foundations for promoting educational and cultural exchange); more than ten scientific associations seeking to further their special interests; and, of course, the West German taxpayers and their representatives in the *Bundestag*, *Bundesrat*, and state assemblies who, in one form or another, provide about 75 million DM a year (not including university-related expenses such as professorial salaries or construction costs).[1] The following is an attempt to describe the complexity of international studies in the Federal Republic today.[2]

The purpose of this analysis is to provide an overall picture of current teaching and research interests in the general area of international studies--to find out *who* is doing *what*, *where*, for *whom*,

---

Federal Republic of Germany
Gebhard L. Schweigler, Research Fellow, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, *Bonn*.

how, and, possibly, why. For a better understanding of current developments this analysis requires a brief glance at the evolution of international studies in West Germany since the end of the Second World War. The main part of the study consists of fairly comprehensive descriptions of current research, research institutions, and research funding foundations in the areas of International Relations, Peace Research, Comparative Studies, Development Studies, and Area Studies. Throughout this survey the current state and future condition of International Studies in the Federal Republic will be critically examined.

In 1945 social sciences in Germany had to start again from nothing. Practically all of the important social scientists had either emigrated to the United States or Great Britain (where they had been influential in stimulating the development of the social sciences) or had been brutally suppressed by the Nazi regime. Into this vacuum stepped a number of returning emigrants and surviving concentration-camp-inmates whose personal experiences and professional interests were to dominate the development of the social sciences at least in West Germany for the next twenty years and, in some instances, until today.

The main concern of these returning emigrants was the desire to establish democracy in Germany. The research and teaching interests of this first generation of post-war social scientists were obvious: they were concerned with understanding and explaining Germany's immediate past (the breakdown of the Weimar Republic and the origins of the Third Reich), with post-war developments at home, and with democratic theory in general. International studies were of no immediate relevance and, therefore, of little interest. At the most, comparative government could be used to furnish examples for theories of democracy and totalitarianism: studies of the American and British systems of government were frequent, as were analyses of the Soviet system. Because the Western systems of government required little systematic research on the part of West German social scientists (who could rely on personal experience as well as a large body of literature), and because their merits were thought to be self-evident, little systematic research was done in comparative government. This failure to subject the political systems of the West to careful scientific analyses led to one continuing weakness of the West German social science scene: a lack of scholarly attention to the contemporary affairs of West European and North American countries, as reflected in the nonexistence of research institutes devoted exclusively to the study of those countries.[3]

In contrast to this lack of "West Institutes" is the abundance of Ostinstitute, or "East Institutes," in West Germany. Again, the historical reasons for this development seem evident. The develop-

71

ment of democracy in Germany and the acceptance of a socialist system of government were seen as contradictory goals by almost everyone in Germany, and especially by those social scientists who had experienced Western democracy. In the course of post-war reconstruction, anti-communism became the favorite instrument of ideological integration: *Ostforschung*, research on Eastern affairs, provided the necessary ideological information.[4] Until the 1960's research on Eastern Europe, largely financed by the Federal Government and *Länder* Governments, constituted the bulk of international studies in the Federal Republic.[5] Only recently has *Ostforschung* lost some of its importance.

Even at the time when *Ostforschung* enjoyed a privileged posi-position, much of the research was done by legal experts, by historians, and by *Völkerkundler*--cultural historians, ethnologists, and linguists. There was little policy-relevant social science research in the East research institutes, with the exception of research carried out by economists. This state of affairs was by no means surprising, given the shortage of academically trained social scientists, which was to have serious long-term consequences. Because the struggling band of political scientists and sociologists could not raise their voices loud enough, they received only minimal research support. Instead, public support went to the international lawyers (*Völkerrechtler*), the historians, and the *Völkerkundler*,[6] who were, therefore, in a position to consolidate their hold on social science (or *Gesellschaftswissenschaften*) in the early years of the Federal Republic. Practically all area studies being conducted by West German social scientists still stress historical and ethnological factors at the expense of political and sociological ones.[7] Particularly in regard to non-Western area studies the predominance of *Völkerkundler*, who are engaged mostly in classical and historical studies, appears to have prevented the emergence of research on current political and social problems to the extent that, for example, "the German *Asienwissenschaft* (literally: science of Asia) is not yet in a position to meet modern social demands."[8]

Of course, until quite recently the social sciences, and in particular those concerned with international relations and area studies, did not have to meet any modern social demands. The Federal Republic, in 1955, and for a considerable period beyond that time was engaged in a reconstruction effort at home and had little interest in international affairs. It therefore saw little need for research efforts dealing with current problems of the world around it. Instead, West Germany witnessed a renaissance of such fields as *Sinologie*,[9] *Ägyptologie*, and *Lateinamerikanistik*, but was eventually left without much expertise in current problems facing the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Despite the strong competition from Völkerkundler, Völkerrechtler, and historians, the social sciences proper--political science in particular--managed to gain recognition as a separate discipline.

Table 1: The Teaching of International Relations at West German Universities, 1945-1968

	Number of Courses Taught by				
Year	Lawyers	Economists	Historians	Pol. Sci.	Others
45/46	1	2	--	--	--
46/47	12	5	6	--	--
47/48	14	11	18	2	--
48/49	14	13	40	6	--
49/50	14	12	28	7	1
50/51	21	13	51	16	2
51/52	23	16	48	14	3
52/53	31	29	54	19	3
53/54	33	32	51	22	2
54/55	25	29	55	31	1
55/56	38	34	50	24	5
56/57	31	23	65	32	2
57/58	31	33	52	37	1
58/59	26	44	51	36	2
59/60	26	50	61	28	1
60/61	33	46	64	28	2
61/62	39	42	69	36	3
62/63	35	43	64	35	5
63/64	31	44	67	54	6
64/65	35	51	83	63	5
65/66	36	41	85	93	3
66/67	38	46	53	85	21
67/68	34	52	62	114	26

Source: Berichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht, Vol. 9 (Karlsruhe: Muller, 1969), p. 181.

Table 1 represents the results of a survey of international relations courses taught at German universities between 1945 and 1968, broken down according to disciplines.[10] A comparison of the number of courses taught by members of the different disciplines shows quite clearly the sudden take-off of political science courses on international relations in 1963, their more than doubling in number in the span of less than three years, and the relative decline of such courses being taught by historians after 1965. The year 1965 can be considered as the take-off point of international studies in the Federal Republic.

Students, the educational products of a growing number of postwar trained high school teachers, flocked to the universities in search of relevant knowledge or promising careers. The promising careers in medicine and other fields being limited because of an ever more oppressive numerus clausus, the students turned to political science and sociology in search of relevance, if not careers. Thus the Otto-Suhr-Institut (OSI) at the Free University in Berlin--West Germany's mecca for political scientists--which in 1960 had 283 students majoring in political science found itself with 912 students by 1966 (at which level it has remained since then).[11] More interesting yet, the number of graduates from the OSI increased from one year to the next--1965 to 1966--almost threefold: from 17 to 47. In 1970, the OSI graduated 91 Diplom-Politologen; by 1973, however, only 41 students registered for the exams required for the diploma in political science.[12]

The influx of students into the political sciences and sociology--between 1962 and 1966 the number of students majoring in political science increased from 753 to 1745, the number of those majoring in sociology, from 1648 to 4004[13]--necessitated an enlargement of the teaching staffs at all universities. This requirement was met only partially. In 1960 only 24 chairs existed for the field of political science, their number increased to 57 by 1967 and to approximately 100 by 1974.[14] But this increase and the concomitant increase in the number of associate and assistant professors was hardly enough to offer adequate instruction and research opportunities to the increasingly large number of students. Their demands for better service were only partially met through the restructuring of German universities, which saw the disappearance of traditional faculties and the establishment of departments at most West German universities. The long struggle for an adequate Hochschulreform is not over yet.

The explosion of political science as an academic discipline had the effect of furthering international studies in the social sciences, although not to the extent indicated by the increase in the number of students. In 1965 there were no chairs for the field of International Relations,[15] but a count of professorships in the summer semester of 1974 shows 10 chairs in International Relations and Comparative Government. An additional number of professors--and of course junior teaching staff--can be assumed to be teaching International Relations.

Although a compilation of data on the number of courses with an international studies focus at German universities does not necessarily reflect student interests--unfortunately, no systematic data on course attendance is available--it may at least be said to reveal teaching interests; and, by making a simplifying demand-and-supply assumption, one can gain an impression of student interests in the field of international relations and area studies. Table 2 contains the results of a survey of courses taught at German universities during the Summer Semester of 1974.

Table 2: International studies courses at West German universities, Summer Semester 1974

Field	Number	% of all social science courses
International Relations	93	8.3
Comparative Government	36	3.2
European countries	55	4.9
United States	20	1.8
Eastern Europe	52	4.6
China	11	1.0
Japan	--	--
Development	38	3.4
Latin America	13	1.2
Africa	6	.5
Other Asian	7	.5
Near East	15	1.3
Total:	346	30.8

Total number of social science courses: 1122

Source: Summer Semester 1974 Course Catalogues.

Although every attempt was made to include all relevant courses in this survey, the data in Table 2 must still be considered as rough and they are by no means comparable with the data listed in Table 1.[16] But these numbers do reveal, on the one hand, that a large number of courses dealing with international aspects are being taught at West German universities, but, on the other hand, that substantial gaps exist in non-European (both East and West) studies. The lack of attention paid to Japan and the United States especially can have potentially far-reaching effects for the conduct of West Germany's foreign policy.

The heavy influx of students into the social sciences during the early 1960's not only led to an increase in the number of courses taught and the number of teaching personnel at West German universities; it was also to change radically the whole research enterprise in the Federal Republic. More students in the social sciences meant more radical thinking about the way a university ought to be run: the pressure of sheer numbers and the often violent conflicts as a result finally brought about a structural change which gave students, junior faculty and senior professors a more or less equal voice in determining affairs within their own immediate discipline.[17] But heavy teaching loads, endless administrative work, and constant exposure to challenges from various student groups brought almost all serious university-based research to a halt, with the possible exception of dissertation research work (and even here the fact that many of the most promising students became assistants and thus burdened down with teaching and administrative duties contributed to a stretching-out of the time frame in which dissertations were finished).

At the same time the adherents to modern social science embraced one of its more important canons: *Praxisrelevanz*. The *Praxis*, in turn--political decision-makers at all levels of government--began to turn to the social sciences in search of politically relevant information. What might have been a coincidence of interests in theory proved to be a difficult undertaking in practice: not everything that some of the more radical social scientists considered relevant for political practice was believed to be practicable by politicians and bureaucrats. As a consequence of this impasse some social scientists set out to change definitions of what was considered relevant (with some success, it might be added: the Extra-Parliamentary-Opposition and all it stood for played a great role in bringing Brandt--and all he stood for!--into power), while policy makers began to set up research institutions of their own, outside of the universities. Overburdened and disillusioned professors and others were all too happy to follow the call to leave academia. As a result the 1960's saw a mushrooming of non-university-affiliated research institutes, particularly in the areas of development studies, security studies, and--eventually and strangely enough--peace research.

The setting-up of government-financed research institutes such as the Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (Berlin) in 1964, the Forschungsinstitut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit der Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (Ebenhausen) in 1965, the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin[18] in 1970, or the Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (Frankfurt), also in 1970, would have been impossible had not a sufficiently large number of trained social scientists become available. Today, most serious social science research--in domestic as well as international affairs--is carried out in non-university institutions (frequently under the direction of university professors who are reluctant to relinquish their tenured positions; the effect of such double duties on both universities and research institutes can easily be imagined).

There was a polarization between academia and private (read: publicly financed) research institutions in the social sciences, and particularly in the general area of international studies. There was also an internal polarization of the discipline. The big impetus for the growth of the social sciences in the 1960's came from young men and women who had begun to absorb American developments in their disciplines, such developments as systems theory, quantitative methods, or behavioralist approaches. Many of these social science students had spent some time at American Universities,[19] where they had learned the new theories and methods. Toward the end of the 1960's, however, they began to turn away from their American mentors. The "post-behavioral revolution" may have hit the social sciences in Germany harder than in the United States. On top of an emotional anti-Americanism fuelled by the war in Vietnam came a scientific anti-Americanism. American social science concepts appeared to have failed dismally. West German students instead turned to neo-Marxist concepts, such as propagated by Adorno, Horkheimer, and Habermas of the "Frankfurter Schule." They began to reject the behavioralist approaches, not as their old professors had for traditional reasons, but for their lack of theoretical underpinnings; they founded "critical" social sciences: critical sociology, critical political science, critical peace research.[20]

Thus the social sciences in West Germany have become polarized between the traditional approaches and the critical theories (with very little behavioralist work in between). There is little if no communication between the two sides, a fact which has not proved beneficial to the development of the social sciences in general, for the conflict has tended to undermine the credibility of the social sciences as a whole. As a result, funding for research activities has become noticeably more difficult in recent years. International studies, unfortunately, have not been excluded from this process.

The politicization of the social sciences could, of course, also be a healthy process. As we have seen, post-war social science in the Federal Republic for too long was uncritical and too strongly tradition-bound. A closer attention to *political* needs, coupled with careful analyses of *public* needs, would in the end be beneficial to both theory and practice. We will attempt in the following main section of this survey to describe current research in the Federal Republic with a view to analyzing the possibilities for a reconciliation of critical theories and traditional knowledge with practical politics.

This analysis will include:

1. A look at the major foundations supporting research in the general area of international studies, with special emphasis on their role in the broad development of the field.

2. A survey of general research in the fields of international relations and peace research.
3. A survey of research in the comparative fields.
4. A survey of area studies and development studies.

Given the complexity of social science research in the Federal Republic, there will be a considerable amount of overlap between these four broad categories. In order to reduce duplication, information about institutes and institutions will be provided only once, whereas their research work may be mentioned at several places; an index of institutes and institutions at the end of this paper allows easy access to all the information concerning a particular institute.

The Role of Foundations

The German universities are financed by and under the control of the 11 Länder governments. Professors, until recently, have run small, one-man institutes with one or two assistants, some graduate students, and a small library. Most of their time has been taken up by teaching and administration[21] and this has been true even in some of the newly founded departments, which were supposed to do away with the one-man institutes. In such a structure essentially hostile to research, the role of foundations in the development of research activities is fundamental. Research proposals which do not meet with the approval of foundations or their consultants have little chance. This controlling power of the foundations can only be checked if either the foundations are so internally structured that they are essentially open-minded and not under the control of a single interest group, or if there are enough foundations that can support persons and projects representing different approaches. West Germany is fortunate in having foundations which fulfill both requirements.[22]

The most important body funding and initiating research and maintaining contact between government and the sciences is the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft--the German Research Society--described in its official brochure as "a supra-regional organization for the promotion of German science, with complete autonomy in all scientific matters." It was established in two stages between 1949 and 1951 and its membership consists of the German universities, Academies of Science, and scientific societies. The DFG is almost exclusively publicly financed; its 1973 budget of DM 536.8 million was made up of contributions from the Federal Government of DM 302.7 million, from the Länder governments of DM 222.7 million, from the Stifterverband fur die Deutsche Wissenschaft of DM 6.1 million, and the Thyssen Foundation of DM 1.8 million, plus smaller amounts from other sources. Its decisions on research support are made by a bewildering array of groupings, including the managing office with a staff of 450, a General Assembly, an Executive Committee, a Senate, a Board of Trustees, a General Committee, and 28 Scientific Committees.[23] The important fact behind this complex set-up is the control of the scientific enterprise by the scientists themselves, although representatives from the various levels of government and from the private foundations are included in the various bodies which serve the DFG. The DFG also advises the Federal Government on scientific questions in close cooperation with the Wissenschaftsrat (the Science Council, established in 1957), the main task of which is to draw up plans for the support of science in general, and annual priorities in particular. The Wissenschaftsrat is composed of representatives from the Bund, the Länder, from the sciences, and from the "public at large." Both DFG and Wissenschaftsrat work closely with two Federal ministries: the Ministry for Education and Science (Bildung und Wissenschaft--the BMBW) and the more influential Ministry for Research and Technology (Forschung und Technologie--BMFT). The BMBW makes a contribution to the DFG, while the BMFT supports other research organizations such as the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft (about which more will be said later) and the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft (which supports applied research in the natural sciences and engineering sciences).

The social sciences are not the DFG's main area of concern; in 1973, only 6.4% of a total of DM 495.3 million in grants went to Gesellschaftswissenschaften. The Humanities as a whole received 16.2%.[24] The DFG's research support activities fall into three categories: the Normalverfahren (literally: normal procedure), the Schwerpunktprogramm (priority program), and the Sonderforschungsbereiche (special research areas). The normal procedure promotes individual research projects (in 1973 DM 194.1 million); the priority program attempts to draw specialists from all over Germany together to work on a priority project (at the cost of DM 107.4 million), while the special research areas program seeks to establish regional centers of research at German universities (DM 196.4 million in 1973).[25] International studies are supported by the DFG in all three categories. In the Normalverfahren, four kinds of support are possible: Sachbeihilfen, or material support (which goes mainly to professors),[26] Stipendien, or fellowships (which are granted mainly to support a Ph.D.'s Habilitation), travel grants, and publication grants. In 1973, under the general category of "economic and social sciences," the DFG gave 265 persons material aid, fellowships, travel grants, or publication help. Of these, 74 were engaged in international studies.[27] In the category "history" 122 projects were supported, 17 of which dealt with some international aspects of recent history (1900-1973). Finally, an extra category was devoted to "cultures of the Orient"--the Near and Far East--which had 92 projects, only four of which had a contemporary social science bent.

In the priority program the DFG supported one research area concerned with International Relations theory: "Methods for a Systematic Analysis of International Politics with Special Emphasis on International Conflicts and their Regulation." Between 1970 and 1973 the DFG spent about DM 700,000 for two research teams: one at the University of Frankfurt under the direction of Prof. E. O. Czempiel, which attempted to analyse the "Position, constellation, and interaction of decision factors in international systems of conflict," the other, under the direction of Prof. G. K. Kindermann at the University of Munich, dealt with "Hypotheses and questions toward a way to a theory of crisis behavior in foreign and international policy," with special attention on crises in the East Asian area.

The DFG priority program on methods in international relations research is currently in the process of being revised. Present plans call for less emphasis on international conflicts and crises (research on which has by now almost been monopolized by West Germany's growing number of peace researchers), reduced attention to the development of IR methodologies, and more emphasis on the increasingly more evident relationship between politics and economics in the international sphere (with special emphasis on problems of dependence and interdependence).[28]

Other DFG *Schwerpunktprogramme* in the Humanities might be classified as area studies. The most ambitious of these is the interdisciplinary "Mexico-Project," an attempt to determine the way in which man and nature have developed in the highlands of Puebla and Tlaxcala. Scheduled to last at least 10 years (and cost at least DM 5.5 million), this project so far has concentrated mainly on archeological, geological, biological, and historical work. Close cooperation with Mexican researchers is aimed for. Their influence, apparently, has led to less of a historical and ethnological and more of a contemporary emphasis.[29]

The DFG have a ten-year DM 3.6 million Africa-Mapping Project, which seeks to map both natural/geographical as well as cultural and economic phenomena in contemporary Africa. There is a similar project on regional shifts of population. So far Germany, India, Crete and Portugal have been studied. Finally, a new project was started in 1974: "Interdisciplinary research of Man, Culture, and Geography in the Central Highlands of West-Irian (New Guinea)." With this project, part of the UNESCO "Urgent Anthropology Program," the DFG continues its tradition of supporting research in anthropology and ethnology.

By far the most interesting and ambitious research support program of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft are the *Sonder-*

forschungsbereiche--the special research areas (SFB's), which, in the words of the DFG's 1973 *Tätigkeitsbericht* "must be understood as an almost heroic effort to get larger groups of researchers, with the friendly agreement of their university administrations, to work together in an intensive, mostly interdisciplinary way." The DFG does not appear too happy with this program; accepting the administrative duties for a DM 200 million enterprise has not eased its tasks, particularly since the *Bundestag*, which has to vote the annual appropriations for this program, has not always made its grants in time or allowed the DFG to hire additional personnel to handle SFB administrative duties. As a result, the initiation of the special research areas has met with considerable difficulties.[30]

Of the DM 196.4 million earmarked for the SFB's in 1973, only DM 22.9 million went to the Humanities (11.6%). Most of the money (42.4%) went to the Life Sciences. However, of the twenty special research areas in the Humanities, only four represent international studies with a contemporary focus (for a total of DM 4.7 million). Two other SFB's contain some research on contemporary political, social, and economic issues in foreign areas (DM 2.4 million was spent on these in 1973), while three further regional SFBs cost DM 3.1 million for strictly historical research.

One of the primary purposes of a special research area is to investigate a relatively narrowly defined area (either regional or thematic) in an interdisciplinary fashion. Sometimes this works, sometimes it does not; the SFB's record in the social sciences has not been good.

One SFB that is working well is a research project at the Free University of Berlin on "The Soviet Union and Her Sphere of Influence Since 1917: Industrialization and Society in the Soviet Union." In this SFB, sociologists, geographers, historians, economists, political scientists, lawyers, educators, linguists, literary experts and art historians are working together on an investigation of the mutual relationship between society and industrialization in the Soviet Union. This SFB, started in 1971 and carried out mainly at the Osteuropa-Institut of the Free University, engages some 50 researchers and seems to be going strong.

Another *Sonderforschungsbereich* that does not appear to be in trouble is on "International Economic Relations." It is at the Universities of Hamburg und Kiel and the HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Hamburg) and the Institut für Weltwirtschaft (Kiel) and costs DM 1.6 million in 1973. The aim of this SFB is to trace the structural changes in the world-wide division of labor. Special emphasis is paid to the processes of industrialization in underdeveloped countries and their effects on international economic relationships; further topics of investigation are the role of the multinational corporations, the competitive conditions on the world market, the development of a world trade order, and the processes of adaptation to the changes on the world market in the industrialized countries.

There are two other SFB's on contemporary problems, both concerned with development. The first, at the Ruhr-Universität (Bochum), deals explicitly with "Development policy and development research"; it is located at the Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik of the Ruhr-University. According to the original research proposal, the purpose of this SFB was to seek a horizontal integration of development theories (between the different disciplines of the social sciences) as well as a vertical integration (between development studies of a sub-regional, regional, and supraregional kind). Individual projects deal with development strategies in India, with national educational planning in developing countries, with problems of coordination of world-wide developmental activities, and with urban planning in developing countries. This SFB has recently had to face a cutback in funding and is experiencing substantial difficulties.

The second SFB, "Research on South Asia," which is based at the Südasien-Institut of the University of Heidelberg, but which also includes researchers from the Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institut in Freiburg and the Sozialpsychologische Forschungsstelle für Entwicklungsplanung of the University of the Saar, Saarbrücken, has had its funding suspended until further notice (pending an internal restructuring of the SFB and further evaluation by the DFG). Part of the problem with this SFB may have been its seemingly uncoordinated research program; one part dealt with regional studies in selected areas (social and economic dualisms in an Indian mining district, the Hinduistic tradition in an Indian Temple town, and the differences in the spread of innovation along a coast-hinterland continuum in Southeast Thailand), while the other focused on elites and their clients (doctors and patients) in Thailand. Internal difficulties at the Südasien-Institut may also have contributed to the suspension of funding which at the present time has all appearances of being permanent.

By far the largest SFB (in terms of funding) is the one at the University of Kiel on "Research on Scandinavia and Baltic Sea Areas." A grant of DM 2.4 million was made in 1973 for some 65 researchers. Most of these funds went for archeological and historical research on settlement patterns, economy, and society in the early Middle Ages, for historical research on Scandinavian-German relations between 1600 and 1900; and for recent historical research on German-Scandinavian relations between 1933 and 1945. Only two projects deal with truly contemporary issues: a study of the economic effects on certain regions in Denmark of Danish membership in the European

Common Market and an examination of the effects of the enlargement of the EEC on the industrial productivity and the foreign trade of several Scandinavian countries. This SFB is likely to face difficulties in the near future, partly because of its primarily historical orientation, and plans are being drawn up for increased contemporary and policy-relevant research, with the hope of securing further funding.

There is also a curious mix of historical and contemporary research at the Sonderforschungsbereich "Research on Southeast Europe" at the University of Munich. Here projects such as "Ethnic and religious conditions in the Montenegro-Northern Albania area during the Turkish period," or "Excavations at migration-period sites in Slovenia" coexist with research on "The political systems of Southeast Europe," on the economic relationships between the EEC and Southeast European COMECON countries, or analyses of tourism in Yugoslavia. To what extent such seemingly unrelated research projects might have been combined in a truly interdisciplinary fashion could not be ascertained. In any case, funding for this special research area was suspended in 1975, pending a more adequate research program. Members of this SFB are currently working on a new proposal with the hope of securing funds for 1976.

It is quite evident that apart from such thematic foci as international economics and development, the DFG is primarily interested in special research areas focused on regions, at least as far as its interest in international studies is concerned. However, experiences with the Sonderforschungsbereiche proved to be disappointing, for a number of reasons. One of the primary reasons seems to have been the lack of an adequate number of well-trained researchers, persons who have both a social science background and speak the required languages. The attempt to overcome this lack through an interdisciplinary program is bound to fail when culturally and linguistically unprepared social scientists have to rely on "regionologists" whose training is mostly linguistic and literary or at best historical. Some of the results of the antiquated German university system can be seen in this. Furthermore, the tradition of small, one-man institutes, where the professor could act more or less on his own, made interdisciplinary work difficult. As a result, research work within individual regional SFB's lacked a consistent interdisciplinary focus, or central hypothesis, and became isolated research projects for representatives in the different disciplines. The successful SFB's are those that are made up either exclusively of social scientists[31] or of traditional regional specialists.[32] To evaluate the difficulties, the DFG recently set up a committee to make recommendations on the future of regional special research areas. The DFG seems prepared to dissolve regional SFB's and support individual research projects of merit

85

within the framework of its "normal procedure" and its "priority research program." In any case, the DFG will cease supporting all those SFB's with little internal communication and little attention to outside criticism on the general drift of an SFB.[33]

Apart from re-thinking the role and possible future of regional Sonderforschungsbereiche, the DFG and the responsible department in the Ministry for Research and Technology are currently engaged in a more general reappraisal of the state of the social sciences in the Federal Republic and the DFG's involvement in them. The aim of this reappraisal is to strengthen the infrastructure of social science research in the Federal Republic, which at the present time is inadequate first, because of the predominance of teaching at the universities[34] and second, because of the high degree of fluctuation of university faculty which does not allow for consistent university-based research activities. Based partially on infrequent surveys among scientists themselves, the DFG's present considerations call for the establishment of better research aids,[35] the funding of co-operative research activities by scientific associations, and the foundation of a society for the support of research in the social sciences (suggested name: Max-Weber-Gesellschaft). If such plans were realized, international studies in the Federal Republic might be greatly helped, since the establishment of research institutes abroad and the funding of truly international research teams (both envisaged by the DFG) would facilitate regional research to a much greater extent than was previously possible. In addition, the founding of a society for research support, which in turn would establish a research institute somewhat analogous to the centers for advanced study in the United States, would have the effect of freeing university faculty for limited periods for concentrated research especially basic research (something they are presently unable to do in the primarily applied-research oriented non-university research institutes, which are reluctant to accept teaching personnel for a limited time in any case). In short, if the DFG can solve the problems of the special research areas, and if it succeeds in realizing some of its plans, it could strengthen its role as supporter of the social sciences in general, and of international studies in particular.

The Federal Republic's most important private foundation, the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk (Hanover) is also much involved in international studies. The VW Foundation was founded in 1961 when the previously publicly owned Volkswagenwerk was made into a stock-issuing corporation. The VW Foundation's income comes from dividends of 40% of VW's stocks (20% held by the Federal Government, 20% held by the Land Lower Saxony) and from interest on a DM 1 billion loan (its basic capital) to the Federal Government. It is, therefore, essentially a private foundation with control over its own affairs (exercised by a 14-person *Kuratorium* with governmentally appointed representatives from the science community and the public at large). But whereas the DFG is dependent on the vagaries of the *Bundestag*'s budget decisions, the VW Foundation is subject to the potentially more serious vagaries of the international automobile market's. Thus between 1962 and 1971 the Foundation's money available for grants amounted to more than DM 110 million on the average, which by 1972, however, dropped to DM 77 million, and, by 1973, had declined to DM 61.6 million. Since then, VW's income has not improved and the Foundation's financial strength is likely to decrease even further (especially when rising rates of inflation are taken into account).[36]

Most of the VW Foundation's research grants go to the life sciences and education, but its support for the social sciences is substantial: in 1972, 11.4% of the total new funding for that year went to economics, sociology, and political science, a total of DM 6.8 million. A large part of that sum was spent on international studies, one of the Foundation's priority areas. In the early years of the VW Foundation's existence, grants were made without much consideration of research priorities (although the non-research goal of achieving structural reforms in teaching and research in general was formulated and pursued very early). A first list of priorities was worked out in 1967; since 1971 the only applications which have been considered are those which fall within one of the priority research areas (which are frequently publicly advertised).

At the present time three of the Foundation's priority research programs are focused on international studies:

1. Research in the general field of international relations;
2. Research on contemporary affairs in the regions of the Near East, East Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe; and
3. Systems research (at least in parts).

In 1971 the VW Foundation, which has always been active in the field of international relations research,[37] decided to make international relations an area of priority research. The VW Foundation's consultants recommended a concentration on policy-relevant studies. Research will be concentrated on: problems of European unification, of Atlantic cooperation, of the foreign policies of the Western nations, of East-West European relations, and of international organizations. Initially, the Foundation had trouble getting worthwhile research proposals, particularly from German social scientists (most applications came from graduate and post-graduate students whom the Foundation is not prepared to support);[38] eventually, substantial grants were made also to foreign applicants.[39] Approximately DM 525 000 went to the Institut de la Communauté

Européenne pour les Etudes Universitaires in Brussels for an analysis of the Community's foreign policy problems of the future.[40] Another DM 326 000 was granted to the Institute for German Studies at Indiana University for a comparative systems analysis of the United States and West Germany. More recently the VW Foundation made a grant of DM 402 000 to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London for its project on "Possibilities and limits of military power, with special emphasis on European security and the European-American relationship." The VW Foundation has also made a grant of DM 256 000 for a series of studies on the modern role of the Red Cross, being carried out at the Henri Dunant Institute in Geneva.

Strictly West German research projects,[41] by comparison, appear modest. The Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Berlin) has a grant for two economically oriented research projects, one on "All-European economic cooperation under conditions of regional integration," the other on "Quantitative and institutional aspects of a system of public transfer payments between different regions of the EEC." A similar project is being carried out at the Institut fur Genossenschaftswesen (University of Münster), on "Industrial cooperation between East and Western Europe in economic and technological fields." The Institut für Ostrecht (University of Cologne) has analyzed the security perceptions of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia (with a view toward their contributions to the CSCE); it is currently conducting a research project on "Legal aspects of war in the Soviet Union." Possibly the most interesting of the German projects--since it deals explicitly with political processes in several European countries--is an analysis of the "Contributions of political parties to the process of integration in the EEC," currently being undertaken by a team of researchers at the University of Tübingen. The German Society for Foreign Affairs is finishing projects on "Soviet policy on European integration" and "U.S.-European security relations"--both parts of an overall-study of "Europe between the superpowers."

The VW Foundation's efforts to stimulate German scientific interest in other parts of the world meet with considerable difficulties not only in regard to Europe. The furthering of regional studies has long been a goal of the Foundation. Originally it focused on East Asian studies, where it supported language training programs and a center for the coordination of research activities (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasienkunde, Hamburg); later it included Latin American studies, Oriental studies, and--more recently--East European studies. The Foundation attempts to maintain a distinction between regional studies proper and development studies (which in general it is not prepared to support); in all instances the main emphasis is on contemporary social science research.

Between 1966 and 1972 the VW *Stiftung* provided more than DM 8 million for contemporary *Ostasienforschung* (1972: DM 660,000). At first, the research was concentrated on China; in 1972, the Foundation moved to studies of Japan. In the latter area it is currently supporting studies of the changing structures of the Japanese rural society (Ostasiatisches Seminar, Free University, Berlin), of "Quantitative methods for measuring social welfare in Japan" (Forschungsstelle für wirtschaftspolitische Planungsverfahren, University of Tübingen), and of the social and economic development of Japan in general since 1945 (for a handbook on Japan, prepared by the Institut für Asienkunde, Hamburg). The Abteilung für Ostasienwissenschaften (University of Bochum) is working on "Language policies in modern Japan."[42] As far as studies on China are concerned, in 1973 the VW Foundation supported an analysis of "The Foreign Trade of the People's Republic of China with the European Common Market" by the Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Berlin). A "Handbook on Modern China," in preparation since 1968, finally appeared in late 1974; it cost the Foundation some DM 360 000.

In the Latin American field the VW Foundation supports language training programs and a research coordinating association, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung (ADLAF), through which it channels most of its research support (DM 913 000 altogether in 1972). The Latin American program, unlike the Asian studies program, is run in active cooperation with Latin American scholars. One such project, involving the Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde (Hamburg) and a Chilean team under the direction of Osvaldo Sunkel, seeks to analyze the effects of international economic patterns on national development in Latin America. Another project, being carried out at the Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institut (Freiburg), deals with the role of public administrations in the development process in the Caribbean area.

Both Asian and Latin American experts in the Federal Republic were worried that the Volkswagen Foundation had expanded its regional programs into Oriental and East European studies at a time of shrinking resources. They thought an expanding regional program would mean less funds for long-supported programs.[43] They were right; in May 1975 the VW Foundation decided to eliminate East Asian and Latin American studies from its list of regional priority research programs.

When the new Oriental studies priority research program opened, the VW Foundation received only a few applications that it could support.[44] The Near Eastern program, which has a regional focus on North Africa and the Near and Middle East and a thematic focus on Islamic studies (but also encourages applications from all disciplines of the social sciences), in the words of the 1972 *Bericht*, failed to excite "the interest of those Orientalists, who--through the establishment of this priority research program--were to have been stimulated to a larger engagement in research on contemporary aspects of the Near and Middle East." There just are not enough experts on the contemporary Orient in West Germany today. In subsequent years the VW Foundation received a larger number of research proposals, most of which came from traditional orientalists, historians, geographers, and agriculturalists. It is currently funding a number of historical and geographical research projects (for example on problems of modern water management in traditional oases). The VW Foundation is also engaged in an educational program aimed at providing post-graduates with financial support for Oriental studies--this in an effort to increase the number of experts on the modern Middle East in the Federal Republic. As pointed out already, the Foundation had previously been engaged in similar efforts in regard to East Asian and Latin American studies; apparently it now feels that these efforts have proved successful and that the time has come to concentrate such educational efforts on other regions of the world. The VW Foundation's cancellation of its East Asian and Latin American priority research program may therefore reflect a sense of accomplishment rather than a sense of failure on the part of the Foundation.

Of the DM 230 000 granted in 1972 for Oriental studies, most went to the Institut für Islamwissenschaft (Free University, Berlin) for the acquisition of microfilms of Palestinian daily newspapers and for an ambitious project on "Syria in the 19th and 20th centuries: Social disintegration and tendencies of a restructuring." This research project is intended to trace the social and political changes of Arab society during the past 100 years; apparently the VW Stiftung considers it to be a model project, to be emulated by other researchers. A project on "The social effects from an ethnological point of view of the migration of male workers from the villages of Tunisia to the industrial nations of Europe"[45] is being carried out at the University of Heidelberg (Südasien Institut, Seminar für Ethnologie). Another research project is on the policies of the Orthodox Church in the modern Near East (Deutsches Orient-Institut, Hamburg).

The VW Foundation's priority research program on Eastern Europe is focused on the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence. The Foundation is particularly interested in research projects dealing with aspects of contemporary history, society, and politics (as well as being willing to support language training for scholars from relevant disciplines). The initial response to the Foundation's Osteuropaforschung announcement proved to be disappointing: in 1972, the VW Stiftung received no project proposals which fell into this program or which it considered worthy of support. Since then, several massive research projects have been approved, on "Problems of educational and occupational structures and economic and social planning in the Soviet Union"; on "Soviet society: composition, structure, and mobility of its major groups"; and on a "Comparative study of economic changes in East and West European countries." The Foundation has also encouraged researchers to submit applications for projects dealing with countries other than the Soviet Union. It is currently funding research on "Language and literature as nation-building factors in the Balkans," on "Stability and change of the Yugoslavian economic system"(Institut zum Studium der Wirtschaftssysteme, University of Göttingen), and on "Social change in Czechoslovakia since 1945."

Apart from International Relations research proper and regional studies in the social sciences, the VW Foundation in recent years has also been interested in what it terms *Systemforschung* (systems research) which, as defined by the *Stiftung*, deals with truly international problems. Because of its strong financial commitment to the MIT team, which worked out the "Limits of Growth," and spurred on by the world-wide attention the latter received, the Foundation decided to set up a priority research area on systems research. Its specifications were advertised in April 1973. Initial support went to two follow-up studies of the Club of Rome's *Limits of Growth*. One of these (at the Industrieseminar of the University of Mannheim) is entitled: "Cybernetic systems analyses toward a diagnosis and therapy of the dynamics of socio-economic complexes"--in other words, an analysis of the social consequences of economic developments in the Federal Republic and in selected developing countries. The other--a DM 700 000 undertaking at the Technical University of Hannover under the direction of Professor (of Mechanics) Eduard Pestel--sought to improve the Meadows' "world model" by overcoming its more mechanistic aspects through the inclusion of decision-making structures and by regionalizing some of its overly aggregated aspects. The study was called "Development and numeric system simulation of a hierarchical regionalized world model."[46] The VW Foundation, in the framework of this priority research program, especially wants to support those projects which attempt to describe structural and functional aspects of real-life phenomena of a socio-economic-technical nature in a dynamic systematic fashion. Given the primarily technical orientation of this *Schwerpunkt*, it can come as no surprise that the projects approved so far are undertaken mostly at technical research institutes. This is certainly true for two additional projects which have been given support since the initial phase. One (at the Institut für Reaktorentwicklung of the Nuclear Research Facilities at Jülich) is on "Developmental possibilities of the energy sector in the Federal Republic: analysis with the aid of a dynamic simulation model." More directly internationally oriented is the other research project being undertaken at the Institut für Systemtechnik und Innovationsforschung (Karlsruhe) of the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft: "Simulation of the stratum of norms and the change of norms, exemplified by the relationship between a developing country and an industrialized country." This DM 480 000 project seeks to analyze existing and changing norms in the relationship between the oil-producing countries of the Near East and the United States as intrinsic parameters of a regional model (and not as external decision factors as in the Mesarovic-Pestel-Model).[47] If the Stiftung Volkswagenwert succeeded, through this priority research program as well as through its other international studies programs, in bridging the gap between social and natural scientists, the research scene in the Federal Republic would gain an important new dimension.

Compared to the VW Foundation's DM 50 million plus total support for all the sciences, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung's 1972 total of DM 4.05 million seems meager. But as almost DM 3 million of this sum went to the Humanities, and especially to international studies, the role of the Thyssen Foundation in international studies in the Federal Republic cannot be overlooked.

The Thyssen Foundation was established in 1959 (with seat in Cologne). Its assets are DM 105 million (nominal value) shares of the August-Thyssen-Hütte A.G., the dividends of which yield an annual income of between DM 8 and 10 million, depending on the vagaries of the steel industry. Because of its relatively small size, this foundation has to concentrate its funds in a few carefully selected areas of research. During the past years the Thyssen Foundation has focused its support on research on Africa, on legal problems of the European community, and on German foreign and security policy, in addition to some smaller projects.

One of the African research projects has recently been completed. It was carried out by the Afrika-Studienstelle of the Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (Munich), and its purpose was to define the basic problems of a regionally limited developmental area--East Africa--in an interdisciplinary way, and to devise development strategies. The project ran some 10 years; toward its conclusion, experts in agriculture, nutrition, ethnology, sociology, political science, history, economics, geography, law, zoology, botany, and medicine had produced about 130 individual studies. From a political scientist's point of view the political aspects of the region were neglected, especially in the light of political developments in Uganda. Still, the many technical studies on economic and agricultural problems undoubtedly fill an important gap in knowledge about the multiple causes of underdevelopment and the many-faceted strategies required to overcome it.[48] The Thyssen Foundation is also funding another long-term research project of the Afrika-Studienstelle, which was conceived as a complementary and follow-up study to the East-Africa-project. In contrast to the latter, its main focus is thematic rather than regional: the processes and problems of industrialization in differently structured African states are to be analyzed. The first individual studies were on Nigeria, Zaire and Uganda followed by studies on all of tropical Africa. The work is being carried out by teams of researchers composed of permanent staff members, graduate trainees, and their African counterparts (although the *Studienstelle* faced great difficulties in recruiting suitable African scholars). The first research reports of this project, which was started in 1971, are being published.

As far as its support for legal studies is concerned, the Thyssen Foundation's main interests lie in the problems of standardizing legal practices in the countries of the EEC, for the purpose of facilitating the development of a truly common market. These efforts are concentrated at three institutes of the University of Cologne--the Institut für das Recht der Europäischen Gemeinschaften, Institut für Internationales und Ausländisches Privatrecht, and Institut für Völkerrecht und Ausländisches Öffentliches Recht--and the Gesellschaft für Auslandsrecht (also in Cologne).[49]

The Thyssen Foundation has given generous support to the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, for a project on "Postindustrial society in Western Europe," and to the *Institut de la Communauté Européenne pour les Etudes Universitaires*, Brussels, for a project on "Community policy and decision-making in the European Community." It has also played an important role in funding various activities of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik in Bonn, which maintains both a research institute and two study groups composed of prominent West German political scientists, policy makers, and journalists, one of which focuses on security problems facing the Federal Republic and the Atlantic Alliance, the other on problems of the relations between the European Community and the COMECON countries.[50]

The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung and the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung (which in years past played an important role in supporting international studies[51] but does not do so at the present time) might be called general purpose foundations. They support research activities in all the sciences; they are also important contributors to the Fine Arts and to education in general. In contrast to them, two recently established foundations--one private, the other publicly funded--have only one single purpose: to support peace research and related activities in the Federal Republic.

A combination of revulsion against the War in Vietnam, Willy Brandt's march to political power on the road to a new Ostpolitik, and the growing interest in the social sciences in general led to the almost sudden appearance of peace research on the West German academic scene. West Germany's predominantly young peace researchers grouped together in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (AFK) in 1968; their organizational manifesto was written by Karl Kaiser,[52] their theoretical one by Dieter Senghaas.[53] Both the DFG and the VW Foundation seemed originally interested in supporting peace research. Their efforts were preempted, however, when the newly established Federal Government under Willy Brandt agreed to set up a foundation for peace research--the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (German society for peace and conflict research), or DGFK. Despite initial difficulties it is now a going concern. It was founded in late 1970 as a society; its members are the Federal Government, the Länder, the trade unions, the employers' association, the association of German industries, the Protestant and Catholic Churches, and the Jewish Central Council, all of which were supposed to pay contributions. However, since 1971 the Bund has provided the bulk of funds. In 1972, the Federal Government contributed DM 2.32 million, the Länder DM 280 000, and the two Churches DM 200 000; the trade unions and the industry associations have consistently refused to honor their commitment to peace research.[54] But governmental agencies have become reluctant to give support, too. Original plans drawn up by the DGFK's Kuratorium (made up of peace researchers and representatives from the various governmental and social organizations) called for a steady increase of available funds from DM 3 million in 1972 to DM 6 million by 1977. But it has become clear in the meantime that the DGFK's level of income is likely to remain at around DM 3 million.[55] Dissatisfaction with its initial funding practices (when wide-spread and seemingly uncoordinated research support led to charges that the DGFK served as a "self-service shop" for involved peace researchers) and the establishment of peace research centers and foundations elsewhere (such as the Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, Frankfurt, the Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik, Hamburg, and the Berghof Stiftung für Konfliktforschung) has led to a certain reluctance on the part of a financially pressed government to increase its support for peace research.

The DGFK finds itself in the middle of the controversy over the policy relevance of peace research. It recently announced a priority research program to which it hopes to contribute about 75% of its total resources.[56] "Peaceful change and strategies of transition" is the theme which the DGFK wants to pursue during the next years.

Within this broad field of research, two narrower problem areas are to serve as the foci for research: 1. "Maintaining peace and developing strategies of transition in Europe"; and 2. "Conflicts between West European industrial states and developing countries and their peaceful resolution."[57]

Within the first Schwerpunkt theoretical work is to concentrate on problems of association and dissociation between antagonistic systems and their influence on peaceful change within the systems; the empirical focus lies on the societies and political systems of Eastern and Western Europe. The second research priority within the general theme of peaceful change is designed to investigate the dependency structures of the international system, with the purpose of defining those areas where there is room for political maneuver and of developing strategies for the overcoming of underdevelopment. The role of the Federal Republic in peacefully changing the European scene as well as the structurally violent relationship between the industrialized and the underdeveloped parts of the world have to be emphasized. In addition to the research work proper, the DGFK is also initiating a program designed to translate research results into material for peace education, in order properly to discharge its functions as far as peace education is concerned.

Before the DGFK had developed its priority research program, it supported a number of different projects: symposia, student work, and publications. As far as research on international issues is concerned, the DGFK granted support to the Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK) for research on the determining factors of American foreign policy, Soviet foreign policy, and French and German weapons procurement policies. Further support went to studies of weapons transfer problems (at the Free University of Berlin and the University of Bonn), of non-violent strategies of conflict resolution in the United States and Norway (Free University of Berlin), to analyses of the role of multinational corporations (University of Nijmegen, Holland), and of Italian foreign policy vis à vis Africa under Center-Left regimes (Johns Hopkins University, Bologna, Italy). Two further projects dealt exclusively with underdeveloped countries: an analysis of "Imperialism, classes, war: Inter-state conflict in the Third World--the 'Soccer War' between El Salvador and Honduras" (University of Tübingen), and a "Projection of potential conflict between the states of the Maghreb" (University of Aix-en-Provence, France).[58] It remains to be seen whether the DGFK's newly advertised priority research programs will draw Germany's peace researchers, who are still ideologically very much divided.

The DGFK, facing considerable pressures from the money granting policy makers and the more tight-fisted representatives from the trade unions and industry associations to develop more policy-relevant research programs, had to come up with a compromise in order to maintain its hold on the Federal Budget and survive. The compromise was reached more easily than might have been expected because the Berghof Stiftung für Konfliktforschung (BSK) appears to have become the main source of funding for more radical peace-related activities in the Federal Republic. The BSK was set up in late 1971 by an heir to the Bosch industries fortune; at the present time it has control over more than DM 11 million in capital, and, therefore, approximately DM 1 million in annual income. Chairman of the Foundation's Council, which determines the BSK's priorities, is Dieter Senghaas, a research director at the Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung in Frankfurt, who by now has established a reputation as Germany's leading peace researcher.

The BSK, like the DGFK, supports research on both domestic and international conflict; but unlike the DGFK, it can easily support peace-related activities by various activist groups, and does so. It is also very active in peace education in general, an interest it shares with the DGFK.[59] Reflecting, perhaps, the scope of personal interests of its chairman, the BSK, during its initial phase, supported a large number of truly international projects. Larger sums went to Johan Galtung for an "Analysis of trends of European history"; to the American peace researcher Milton Leitenberg for research on the relationship between research, technology, armament, and politics in the United States; to two British scientists at the University of Sussex for theoretical and empirical analyses of weapons transfers; and to an American and British researcher for work on military-industrial-complexes in Europe and the Soviet Union. Somewhat smaller research support was granted to research activities on the role of military-industrial-complexes in France and West Germany, which are being carried out at the HSFK.[60]

Almost inevitably in the end, the BSK focused on large-scale priority research projects, for which purpose a non-institutionalized research institute is being set up in Berlin. At this non-institute, two teams of researchers will be working, one on the "Structure of 'internal' violence in the Federal Republic"--in the context of which one study will deal with "Workers' migration in and to Western Europe"--the other on "The social functions of international cooperation: problems of all-European cooperation." The latter project represents the continuation of research work begun under the sponsorship of the Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler (Hamburg), which supports a study group on "European politics."[61] In the present phase, the following topics are to be investigated: 1. "The ideological and economic bases of a policy of national independence· France since 1962"; 2. "Military, ideological, and economic aspects of an all-European security policy, with special emphasis on the role of the United States and selected European states"; 3. "The importance of anti-Communism in the Federal Republic during the process of détente"; 4. "Détente and political education: peace education and military education in the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic." The team of four researchers is under the direction of Free University professor U. Albrecht; its work will continue to be discussed by the VDW's study group on "European politics."

Although the Berghof Stiftung might be considered a political foundation, i.e. one pursuing clearly defined political goals, it is, of course, not officially set up as one. That role is reserved for the foundations established by West Germany's major political parties (in comparison with which the BSK's activities appear rather insignificant). These political foundations, which are almost exclusively federally financed, represent a unique feature of the German political system, the constitution of which grants the political parties the exclusive right to serve as instruments of *Willensbildung*--of the formation and institutionalization of the public will. Arguing that this function could be discharged properly only if the parties received financial support, those parties represented in the *Bundestag* eventually voted themselves hefty federal subsidies for their work in forming and evaluating the public's political will. Apart from support for the parties' parliamentary offices,[62] these subsidies go to the parties' foundations, which bear the names of prominent party politicians of the past: the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (SPD), the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (CDU), the Friedrich Naumann-Stiftung (FDP), and the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (CSU).[63] With these public grants, the foundations run adult education programs, endow fellowship programs for talented students, engage in development aid (which absorbs the largest share of the funds), and support publications. The two major foundations have also set up research institutes, both of which conduct international studies.[64]

The more important of the two is the Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. It has a DM 6 million budget,[65] and employs approximately 70 researchers. Its research activities are concentrated, as might be expected, on the "Theory and history of the German labor movement," but also on such domestic issues as urbanization, regional development, adult education, student politics, and labor problems (including research on foreign workers in West Germany). As far as international studies are concerned, the FES research institute is interested in the foreign policies of East European countries (with special emphasis on the GDR's foreign policy towards developing countries) and on development studies.[66] In the latter field, research is carried out on both economic and social-political subjects, with no special area focus (although in its practical involvement in development aid--where FES attempts through cooperative projects to foster the idea of social democracy in underdeveloped countries--FES has traditionally shown a stronger interest in Africa: in 1973, it had 68 associates working in Africa, 30 in Asia, and 18 in Latin America). Among the more general research projects are "Military regimes of a social-reforming kind as a factor in the social and political development of the countries of the Third World" (focused on Indonesia, Egypt, Ghana, and Peru), and "Social and cultural aspects of industrialization." In addition to research work carried out in and from the Bonn offices, FES is involved in a number of social science institutes abroad. In Latin America it has set up two research institutes--Instituto Latinamericano de Investigaciones Sociales (ILDIS)--as sister institutes, one originally in Chile (now relocated in Quito), the other in Caracas. At these institutes, each staffed by FES associates, research is carried out on the problems of Latin American integration, on questions of technology and development planning, and on development policies in general. In Africa and Asia, FES associates are working at local research institutes on research projects focused on country-specific development problems.

The Research Institute of the FES does not think of itself primarily as a party-support institute. In contrast to it, the Sozialwissenschaftliches Forschungsinstitut der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (until recently under the direction of Prof. W. Kaltefleiter, who also holds a chair in political science at the University of Kiel) in Alfter near Bonn is more geared in its research activities to serve the typical needs of a political party. The SFK conducts mainly research on public opinion in the Federal Republic, focusing especially on pre- and post-election analyses. It also runs a research program on mass communication, in the course of which it pays particular attention to the way in which West Germany's mass media treat government and opposition. International problems appear to have met with little interest so far, except for a program on the theoretical bases of democracy, where some comparative studies were carried out. More recently, the SFK has begun to initiate research projects on international relations and foreign policy, under the clearly expressed premise that "for the future position of the Federal Republic it is of decisive importance, whether the policy of European unification and alliance with the U.S., as initiated and pursued by Konrad Adenauer, is continued, or whether, as a more or less neutralized country in the middle of Europe, the Federal Republic will come under a stronger influence of the Soviet Union."[67] Consequently, options of West German foreign and security policy under the conditions of a changing international system are to be investigated.[68]

One last foundation of some importance for international studies in the Federal Republic remains to be described: the Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung (formerly Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer--the German Foundation for International Development), a federally instituted and financed foundation to "establish and maintain the Federal Republic's relations with other countries on the basis of mutual exchange of experiences."[69] Its primary responsibility is to train persons from developing countries in the Federal Republic and train West German personnel going into service in developing countries. It is also involved in documentation services. The DSE maintains a Zentrale Dokumentation in Bonn, which keeps up both a factual file (on development institutions and development research in West Germany, on international conferences, on foreign persons having attended training courses and seminars in the Federal Republic) and a computerized documentation of literature in the general area of development.[70] A library, open to outside users, contains relevant literature. Its close cooperation with organizations of regional studies in West Germany, as well as with foreign institutions, makes the Zentrale Dokumentation of the DSE a very important part of West Germany's development studies scene.

Studies of International Relations

As the preceding review of the role of German foundations in international studies has shown, the foundations' often "heroic efforts" to stimulate coordinated and interdisciplinary research activities in the general area of international relations and area studies met with only partial success, particularly at the university level. The conditions at German universities did not allow large-scale research, so that almost inevitably research activities flourished only at non-university institutions; where universities attempted to pursue long-term research within their own walls, such as in the context of the DFG's Sonderforschungsbereich program, their attempts met with great difficulties.

While the shift from university-based research to non-university-based research hardly inconvenienced the small number of senior professors in the field, some of them had already passed through the research-intensive phase of their academic life, others among them shifted right along (maintaining both their academic and private research positions), the growing number of junior faculty and dissertation writers found itself disadvantaged. They, who require the constant stimulation of exposure to critical colleagues and new ideas, were mostly left to their own devices.

100

As a device to overcome the worst effects of this situation the Sektion Internationale Politik of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft was set up. The German Political Science Association had been founded in 1950 by some 40 persons interested in the establishment of the discipline Political Science in the Federal Republic.[71] Membership is restricted to those who "engage themselves for Political Science as teachers, researchers, journalists, or others in public life"; students cannot become members. In the late 1960's the DVPW began to relax this restriction and admitted some students who were working on their Doktorarbeit. In order to institutionalize the sub-discipline International Relations, the DVPW decided in 1965 to set up a Sektion for international politics. When Prof. Czempiel (then of Marburg) became its chairman in 1967, he initiated a priority research program of the Sektion, to help it discharge its self-set task of "furthering the discipline 'International Relations' through conferences, research projects, and student support."[72]

The Sektion's first project, begun in 1967 and concluded in 1969 (with the help of the Thyssen Foundation), was on the relationship between foreign policy and domestic politics, a classical theme for German scholarship.

The Sektion's next project was already much more ambitious in its attempt to analyze critically international relations systems theory as developed in the United States, and to suggest alternative theoretical strategies. The project director described what had happened:

> After the necessary acceptance and critical evaluation of approaches and methods developed elsewhere, one can now observe a new trend in IR research in the Federal Republic, namely making use of the knowledge and experiences as developed by American Behavioral Science, but also consciously moving away from its models and overcoming its inadequacies, and at the same time going back to the social-critical and structural-historical approaches in the European sociological tradition of thought, to accept the challenge of the burning problems of the world and to develop original contributions to their solution.[73]

In other words, many international relations scholars wanted to break away from their American behaviorist mentors (whose work they began to perceive as part of American imperialism, if not its rationalization) and develop theories and solutions of their own.

This programmatic intention is still quite muted in the partial project published under the heading "International Relations as a System." It is very much more strongly pursued in a follow-up project on "Conflict and integration: dependency structures, processes of penetration, and counter strategies in the world society" (also under the chairmanship of K. J. Gantzel, a project director at the HSFK). This project can only be described as massive; most of the individual contributions (which, on the whole, do not represent original research for this project, but rather write-ups of research work done for other purposes)[74] are finished and await publication in six different volumes! One volume, written by Hartmut Elsenhans,[75] deals with "History and Economy of European expansion"; a second one is on "Rule structures and emancipatory tendencies in the world society." The third and fourth volumes concentrate largely on international economic issues ("Conflict and integration between industrial societies" and "On the multi-nationalization of capital"), while the two remaining volumes have Africa and Latin America as their subject.

Because the *Sektion* offers younger scholars the opportunity to have their research work criticized by colleagues and published by reputable publishing houses, its research work has expanded beyond all tolerable proportions. The *Sektion* is therefore about to split up into different working groups, some of which want to pursue their own more narrowly defined interests, such as a working group on multinational corporations, a working group on socialist countries,[77] or a working group on international organizations,[78] while others seek to disassociate themselves from the prevailing "critical" orientation of most of the *Sektion*'s members. A working group on foreign policy has a research proposal on "Atlantic industrial society and transnational politics: studies on the function of governmental and societal actors." The "critical" hard-core of the *Sektion* is developing another massive research project--in continuation of previous projects--on the "History and structure of the international system, analyzed with special emphasis on the development of the labor factor and its political conflict manifestations."[79] Originally this proposal was to work out a detailed analysis of international economic relations, involving both capital and labor, since the beginning of the modern times (i.e. since the 16th century), but it shrank somewhat in scope before it was submitted to the DGFK for funding (where it is supposed to fall into research priority II: development studies). Participating *Sektion* members have already agreed to concentrate their own empirical efforts on either "The articulation and satisfaction of needs under the aspect of system stabilization in post-industrial capitalism" or "The internationalization of capital and action patterns of the working class" and "The resistance of the commodity manpower in the periphery"; the goal of producing historical background studies has not yet been relinquished.

The Sektion Internationale Politik's shift in interest from a critical reception of American social science approaches to a new synthesis of critical sociology, political economy, empirical political science, and practical concerns is typical for the evolution of the social sciences in West Germany in general. As far as the analysis of international relations is concerned, this approach is also reflected in the development of international studies at the Free University in Berlin, Germany's most important school for the social sciences.

Until recently, the discipline International Relations was represented at the Free University by Prof. Richard Löwenthal and Prof. Gilbert Ziebura. Löwenthal (who is about to become professor emeritus) was responsible for "Theory and history of foreign policy"; he concentrated most of his teaching and research on Communist studies in general, and on Soviet politics in particular. Ziebura, both a historian and a political scientist, handled Aussenpolitik in general. His research interests were in two broad areas, which he and his Doktoranden pursued in detail: one dealt with "Democratic and totalitarian foreign policy in the years between the wars," with a special emphasis on Germany, France, England, Italy, and Czechoslovakia; the other on "Hypotheses about international dependence and methods for their empirical validation." In the course of the latter project, Ziebura and his co-workers examined the adequacy of American theoretical approaches in explaining current international relations, found them wanting,[80] and set out to develop alternative approaches.

When the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft announced its Sonderforschungsbereich program, Ziebura and his colleagues saw the chance to develop a large-scale research program which could concentrate on developing alternative theoretical approaches. They proposed a special research area on "Determining factors of foreign policy in the second half of the 20th century."

The Berlin Project was to focus on the complex relationship between internal and external determinants of foreign policy behavior of individual states. The guiding concept of this analysis was to be the Herrschaftssynthese, the "synthesis of ruling power," which would locate the real centers and sources of power which frequently transcend national boundaries. The Project was not approved as a Sonderforschungsbereich; the process of cooptation in an ideologically split university eventually blew it up to a size where it either had to burst or collapse under its own weight. In the effort to reformulate the project theoretically so that it might become more acceptable to the Free University administration and to the DFG, the Berlin

Project team produced a research proposal which might serve as a manifesto of the predominant orientation of IR research in the Federal Republic today.[81] In this reformulation, the Project was clearly to focus on the "attempt to analyze, as the decisive determinant of foreign policy behavior, the power relationships within world societal processes, for example in the framework of the uneven international division of labor and the resulting structures of interdependence and dependence, and the transnational and societal interactions within these structures."[82] Economic questions, in other words, have once again moved into the foreground of international relations research, leading to a renaissance of "political economy." Within the confines of this discipline most of West Germany's international relations scholars are currently seeking to overcome the dominance of the United States in IR research and to develop a theoretical contribution of their own.[83] It should be added that while undoubtedly a large number of those scholars subscribe to a neo-Marxist orientation, not all of them do: the need to pay more attention to international economic issues is more or less universally perceived (and not only in the Federal Republic).

The Berlin Project, in its second formulation, included four separate research areas, of which the first was eventually conceived as the planned SFB's central focus: "Society and the freedom of action of foreign policy in Western Europe since the beginning of the 1960's" (project director: H. Elsenhans)

A second project, under the direction of Prof. Ziebura, was designed to investigate the "Importance of direct American investments in Europe for the further development of the European community into an economic and monetary union," in other words, the role of the multinational corporations in Europe. The two remaining projects were regional in character, one dealing with "Eastern Europe in the process of détente," the other focusing on the "Freedom of action of peripheral societies in the international system: possibilities for an overcoming of underdevelopment" (Prof. F. Ansprenger, project director).

The long process of formulating a theoretical concept for the planned SFB and guiding it through the bureaucratic maze almost inevitably led to an erosion of the initial personnel. The thinning-out of both the personnel and the financial research base of the Berlin Project has led its main protagonists to seek to institutionalize the project in yet another, significantly reduced form: they have petitioned the Free University administration to recognize "Determining Factors of Foreign Policy" as a Forschungsgebietsschwerpunkt, that is, as a priority research area at the Free University. Such recognition would commit the FU to give priority to this area of research in its hiring practices; but it would not oblige the Free University to

101

provide financial resources beyond the regular personnel costs. The formal institutionalization of this research priority area would prove beneficial not only to the large number of junior faculty involved with this project (of the 17 participants listed in the project proposal 13 are seeking long-term positions as assistant or associate professors) but also, of course, to the whole research enterprise at the Free University itself, particularly since hopes are still being expressed that the planned Forschungsgebietsschwerpunkt might eventually be recognized as a Sonderforschungsbereich by the DFG.

The research program as originally outlined in the SFB proposal has now, in the latest FGS proposal, been reduced to five "pilot studies." The first of these seeks to analyze "The economic development process within the EEC and the contradictions of adaptation and disparities: political and social consequences." A second study will examine "The Social-Democratic Parties in Western Europe in the post-industrial age (Spätkapitalismus)," with the aim of determining possibilities and limits of a social-democratic strategy in Western Europe at a time of increasing integration, internationalization of production, and uneven economic development. Of the three regionally focused studies two will deal with Eastern Europe--"Tendencies and models of development of the East European states under the influence of the Soviet Leadership" and "Sociocultural determinants of social change in East European countries during the transition from extensive to intensive growth"--while one will examine the "Application of dependency theory to societies in Africa and Asia."

Ziebura's move from Berlin to Konstanz created an opening at the Free University which is unlikely to be filled very quickly, especially in view of the fact that the departmental selection committee is adamant about any potential candidate's acceptance of the basic research project on "Determinants of European foreign policy."

Consistent research work at German universities suffers because professors move so frequently. Prof. H. P. Schwarz, for instance, recently left the University of Hamburg for the University of Cologne, where he became director of the Forschungsinstitut für Politische Wissenschaft und Europäische Fragen; the position at Hamburg has not yet been filled. While still in Hamburg, Schwarz initiated a (VW-Foundation supported) research project on the attitudes of various European countries toward the policy of détente with the Soviet Union. Portions of this project (all dissertations) have already been finished (those on the Netherlands, the Federal Republic, and Yugoslavia); others are still in progress (those on Sweden, France, Italy, and Austria). Presumably those Doktoranden still working on their projects are still being directed by Prof. Schwarz but will eventually receive their doctorates from the University of

Hamburg. A final report on the whole project, however, will be prepared by Profs. Schwarz and Meissner, both of the University of Koln. At the same time Schwarz has taken over on-going research work at the Köln Forschungsinstitut, which was initiated under the directorship of Prof. Hermens, and focused largely on analyses of the different effects of voting systems on the parliamentary institutions of the European Community. In the near future he is planning a comparative study of the cultural policies pursued abroad by the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. The Forschungsinstitut is also involved in the Thyssen Foundation's project on "State, Economy, and Society." Within the research area "governability of modern states" it will carry out two projects, one on problems of legitimacy in Western democracies, the other on questions of inter-state cooperation. From the VW-Foundation come the funds for a research project on "National minorities in Western Europe," to be carried out by F. R. Alleman, who is not a member of the Forschungsinstitut's staff.

Schwarz's move from Hamburg to Köln has left the University of Hamburg, which in early 1974 had 894 students majoring in political science,[84] without a research base in International Relations. Also since Prof. Helga Haftendorn, a specialist in security policy, moved from the University to the Hamburg Bundeswehrhochschule (University of the Armed Forces)[85] at approximately the same time. The Institut für Internationale Angelegenheiten der Universität Hamburg in spite of its name does no work in international relations: it has an exclusive focus on international and comparative law.[86]

While some international relations research is carried on by individual professors at most West German universities (particularly at the universities of Frankfurt, Marburg, Tübingen, Bremen, and Kassel), somewhat more concentrated research work is attempted primarily at the University of München and at the University of Bonn. In Munich, at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, Prof. G. K. Kindermann is directing a (DFG supported) project on "Methods for a systematic analysis of international politics" and a (VW-Foundation funded) study of the politics of divided countries; in both cases the main regional focus is on countries of East and Southeast Asia. At the University of Bonn, Prof. H. A. Jacobsen is interested in questions of European security and Ostpolitik as well as in historical aspects of the international system. Doktoranden are working on both topics.

Partly because West German universities have had and continue to have a difficult time in establishing large-scale, long-term research projects which do not consist almost exclusively of individual contributions from Doktoranden, non-university institutes began to flourish once the Federal Government decided that it needed to rely on scientific analyses (as in the case of security studies and development studies) or that they might serve certain other useful political purposes, such as peace research.

From the point of view of West German policy-makers, one of the most important institutes in the field of International Relations is the Forschungsinstitut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit der Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) in Ebenhausen near Munich, the "Research Institute for International Politics and Security of the Foundation for Science and Politics." The Foundation itself had grown out of a group of some 30 scientists and policy-makers which in 1961, under the chairmanship of Professor Arnold Bergsträsser, had come together in order to further interdisciplinary policy-oriented research in the field of international relations, national security, and arms control and disarmament, to bring together theoreticians and practitioners in the discussion of the relevant problems, and to provide a competent group of experts for international dialogues. A similarly oriented study group had been organized in 1961 by the German Society for Foreign Affairs under the chairmanship of a prominent SPD politician, Fritz Erler. This group, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wissenschaft und Politik*, initiated the *Stiftung* in 1963. In 1965, the *Bundestag*, challenged by its SPD members, asked the Federal Government to set up both an office for arms control and disarmament within the Federal Government and an independent research institute which might provide the necessary scientific analyses. The Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, which had been set up for the purpose of institutionalizing foreign policy research, proceeded to organize a research institute for this purpose under the direction of Prof. Klaus Ritter. It began operating in 1965. Originally its funds were included in the budget of the Foreign Office, where the arms control office was initially set up. Later its budget was transferred to that of the Federal Chancellery in order to enable the institute to coordinate the research activities of the Foreign Office and the Defense Department in arms control and disarmament matters. It currently receives some DM 5 million a year in basic support; additional funds can be secured for specific contract research and from foundations for basic research. The *Forschungsinstitut* of the SWP, which in the course of its ten year history has built up a staff of forty researchers--many among whom are widely acknowledged as experts in their fields--attempts to meet in its research program the needs of policy preparation and analysis. It is therefore in close contact with the relevant bureaucracies, but stays free of the limitations of contractual research. In fact, it sees its proper function as one of providing advanced analyses of potential problem areas to a bureaucracy which is generally more occupied with day-to-day operations. It is also prepared to draw on its expertise for studies geared to more immediate policy needs. For these purposes the SWP has access to classified material; its research reports, however, with very few exceptions, are widely distributed to policy-makers, opinion-makers, and interested scholars.[87]

The institute's overall research program is set once every two years by the Stiftungsrat, a supervisory council composed of representatives from the foreign policy bureaucracies, the Bundestag, and the science community. Within the confines of this very broad program the institute is free to pursue its research activities according to its own set of priorities. Currently the overall program provides for analytical studies in four general fields: structural problems of politics in East and West and of the formation of the international system as a whole; international security problems, including strategic policy with its technological involvements, and problems of arms control and disarmament; economic problems of international politics; and developments in Asia, the Near East, Africa, and Latin America relevant to the global setting and to European politics in particular.

Within the first of these areas of research--structural problems of international politics--specific attention is paid to an analysis of the possibilities of a policy of détente on the Europeal level (with a close view toward the CSCE negotiations) and on the level of superpower bilateralism; the connection between both levels and the implications for political developments within the Common Market, the Atlantic Community, and the Warsaw Pact countries are closely followed. The value and functions of universal organizations for countries like the Federal Republic (or, by way of comparison, for other middle powers) are analyzed particularly in regard to the emerging North-South conflict. Regional studies within this section are concerned with the internal and external conditions for community-building in Western Europe. Finally, the whole issue area "energy crisis" is examined within this research area.

In the area of security studies, the Forschungsinstitut tries to keep track of all important developments on both the global level (such as SALT), the European level (MBFR), and the NATO level. It attempts to develop alternative proposals for West Germany's security policies, particularly in the framework of common European and Atlantic policies. Here and generally it intends to stay ahead of more immediate problems and to develop medium- and long-range perspectives.

The SWP's economic section's task is to provide relevant background information for the other sections' work. It is geared specifically to analyze economic problems facing the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community, but it also attempts to keep a close watch on the economic capabilities and intentions of the COMECON-countries, their coordination, modes of innovation, and possibilities for East-West cooperation. Finally, the *Forschungsinstitut's* regional programs are directed toward analyses of the importance of certain conflict areas of the "Third" and "Fourth World" for West German and West European political and economic interests; small groups of researchers cover the Near East, Africa, Southern Asia, the Far East, and Latin America.

Social science research, and especially policy-relevant analyses, cannot be carried out without easy access to all sorts of printed material. The SWP has therefore built up a large library and an extensive newspaper clipping file, which is complete for the period since 1968 and is gradually being put on micro-film. More important is the development of a computerized access system (with the acronym PRIMAS). The PRIMAS-system, which has become operational only recently, is based on a polyhierarchical thesaurus, which allows a fairly extensive cataloguing of literature (only periodical articles have been included so far). The researcher, in turn, is enabled to "communicate" with the computer until he has located that mix of categories which yields a listing of all the articles written on a very specific topic. The system as a whole (which was developed in cooperation with Siemens) is an impressive operation, and it can only be hoped that the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik will make it available to other interested researchers.

The oldest research institute in the field of international relations and the only one to be located in Bonn is the Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik. Although the DGAP maintains close relationships with various foreign policy bureaucracies in Bonn (thus forming a very important link between *Theorie* and *Praxis* in the FRG), it is not a government-supported research organization, nor does it engage in contract research work for governmental agencies. The only federal funds it receives are in support of the research institute's extensive documentation center (with a library and newspaper clippings going back to 1945), and in support of institute-proposed research projects (currently for one on the foreign policy activities of the GDR in non-socialist countries, and for one on international dimensions of environmental problems).

Until the general expansion of international studies in the Federal Republic in the mid-1960's, the DGAP's research institute, too, did little in the way of original research. Most of its efforts were centered on the publication of its journal, the well-established Europa-Archiv, and on the preparation of documentary material in the fields of arms control, disarmament, and German foreign policy. The DGAP was also instrumental in making available important foreign literature (such as the books by Henry Kissinger) to the German political and academic communities by publishing translations.

Finally, the DGAP, through the publication of its yearbooks on international affairs, sought to stimulate at least the West German academic community's interest in international affairs.[88]

Since the initiation of large-scale research projects, the Forschungsinstitut's interests have broadened beyond the original focus on security policy and Deutschlandpolitik. For instance, it has recently published a detailed study of the effects of workers' migration into Germany and France on the foreign relations of all countries involved.[89] Another just-completed study deals with the role of international organizations in resolving nuclear-energy related problems; a third just published study analyzes the relationship between seapower and foreign policy. Current projects soon to be completed include a study of "Europe between the Superpowers," an analysis of "Limits and possibilities of the compatibility of détente and security," a survey of "European Community Relations with Eastern Europe," a study of "International dimensions of environmental problems in Europe," and an analysis of the relationships between political science and politics in the United States (with special emphasis on U.S. policy toward Western Europe). In progress are projects on the increasing scarcity of resources and its effects on international politics (a project designed to expand the DGAP's research interests into the field of international economics), and on the political cooperation of the European countries in the United Nations (a project which continues the DGAP's strong interest in the United Nations).[90] All of these projects (which are carried out by a staff of approximately 10 researchers) are financed through foundation grants. Since the Forschungsinstitut does not enjoy the benefits of an endowment[91] or of a regular support program from governmental institutions, it faces substantial difficulties in conducting consistent research work (which would require a stronger basis than periodic foundation grants). The director of the Forschungsinstitut is Prof. Karl Kaiser, who has recently moved from the University of Saarbrücken to the University of Cologne.

Peace Research

No such financial problems, at least for the time being,[92] are faced by West Germany's largest institute for peace research (which does a considerable amount of research work in the general area of International Relations): the Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK) in Frankfurt (the "Hessen Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research"). It grew out of a peace research study group initiated at the University of Marburg (Hessen) by Prof. Czempiel in 1968, when the SPD-led governments of the Land Hessen and the City of Frankfurt decided in 1970 to support the establishment of a peace research institute in Hessen. Czempiel (now at the University of Frankfurt), Senghaas, and Gantzel became the founding fathers of the HSFK, which today employs some 25 researchers at the cost of more than DM 1.2 million a year (2/3 of which is paid for by the Land Hessen out of its annual budget). The HSFK's intentions have been spelled out very clearly in its constitution:

> The Hessen Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research investigates the causes, the manifestation, and the possibility of resolution or management of conflicts. However, the Foundation does not limit itself in its research to the analysis of conflict factors. Instead, on the basis of such investigations, it attempts to develop creative concepts for social change and the resolution of conflicts, in which decreasing violence, increasing social justice and political freedom in the international system and in individual societies can be connected. The Foundation also sees to it that the knowledge of peace and conflict research becomes effective in the general public and is applied to the field of political education.[93]

Eight research groups have been set up to pursue this broadly defined research program. Only three of them focus on international problems proper. Of the remaining five, three deal with the development of peace education and aggression-reducing curricula, one analyzes West German public attitudes toward foreign policy issues, while another group studies various political, social, and military aspects of the armaments industry in West Germany. The "international" projects concentrate on "Armament dynamics and the international system" and on "Determining factors of American armament and foreign policy";[94] a project on "The domestic social structures of the foreign relations of socialist societies as exemplified by recent foreign policy strategies of the USSR and the GDR," while not exclusively concerned with armament issues, has, in its initial phase, developed criteria and some empirical evidence for an analysis of a Soviet military-industrial complex.[95] All of these arms-race studies, in their theoretical approaches at least, have focused on the question whether arms races are primarily determined by outside events--that is, in reaction to the opponent's armaments measures--or by internal events (through what Senghaas has termed "autistic processes"). The premise, however, very clearly is that national armament policies especially in the West are "autistically" determined, that is, that they proceed without any reference to real outside needs, and that, therefore, any attempt to overcome the arms race must begin at home.

Acting on this premise, individual members of the HSFK (though not the HSFK as such) have been active in several ways to influence West German military policy so that a reduction of the West German weapons procurement program might become possible. Most of these attempts consisted in the publication of critical analyses at crucial points in the political process, usually with the aid of press conferences or other media-intensive devices.[96] So far these efforts appear to have met with little success, but then they undoubtedly form part of a larger long-term strategy aimed at influencing public opinion on these issues through the initiation of a public discussion in a long-neglected field. The publication of a Journal for Peace and Conflict Research by the HSFK (in close cooperation with the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedens- und Konfliktforschung)[97] will further this strategy, since "the primary purpose of the journal should be the scientific information and discussion of all areas of peace research, with special emphasis on making available information relevant for the social Praxis (teachers, politicians, political organizations etc.)."[98]

The HSFK appears to be at a critical point in its development, now that some of the initial research projects are nearing completion. Its founding fathers may be going elsewhere (Gantzel recently became professor at the University of Hamburg), and even if they stay, conflicts of research interest seem likely. Senghaas, who in recent years has been instrumental in introducing dependency analyses approaches in the German social sciences has shifted in his basic research interests from questions of military security and arms races--military violence, that is--to questions of underdevelopment--i.e. structural violence. Other HSFK members prefer to continue working on problems of military and armament policies, with a special emphasis on the Federal Republic. The resulting discussion about research priorities is taking place at a time when money for all sorts of research activities is getting shorter.

Apart from the HSFK, the Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg is the only other institute in the Federal Republic especially set up for peace research. Despite its name, it is not an institute of the University of Hamburg (for technical reasons, it is merely attached to the University). It is supported by the (also SPD-led) City of Hamburg. It was founded in 1971 with the help of a four-year, DM 926 000 grant from the VW Foundation; after that initial period, the Freie Hansestadt Hamburg (in fact a Land) will cover the costs of the IFSH through annual appropriations.

112

Since Hamburg is a small Land, its research institute also is of modest proportions; at the present time it employs only five full-time scholars (in addition to guest scholars, including one from the Federal armed forces). Eventually, between 6 and 8 researchers are expected to be working in the beautifully located institute on the outskirts of Hamburg. The IFSH was the brainchild of Prof. C. F. von Weizsäcker, who eventually preferred to direct a Max-Planck-Institute set up especially for him; he recommended Wolf Graf von Baudissin as director of the institute. Von Baudissin had an illustrious, though frequently controversial, career as a general in the Bundeswehr, for which he developed the concept of Innere Führung (the basic guidelines according to which the Bundeswehr was to become a fully integrated part of West Germany's democracy). Now no longer responsible for "internal guidance," von Baudissin has turned his attention to external problems of Germany's national security policy, but again with a strong emphasis on alternative models to traditional concepts of thought.

The IFSH's first research project, begun in earnest in 1973, is concerned with "European peace policies: problems of the cooperative transformation of the European system of international relations." The purpose of this project is to investigate the changes within individual societies required for the successful establishment of peaceful international structures. In particular, the project aims to redefine "security" in non-military terms and to analyze mutually beneficial ties and dependencies between East and West European countries.

Von Baudissin himself is interested in investigating problems of the overall military balance, and hopes to develop rational bases for strategic discussions. While acknowledging that security policy and détente policy are two sides of the same coin, his aim is to find grounds for common cooperative arms control measures. The other four research associates are working on partial projects, one of which deals with an analysis of verbal foreign policy statements and their concrete effects on foreign policy. Another topic of investigation is the role of international organizations as instruments of conflict resolution, with emphasis on the aimed-for process of transformation in Europe. A third study focuses on potential sources of resistance to such a transformation, both within national societies as well as within alliance systems. Finally, economic aspects of the transformation process are being investigated, with a special view toward the establishment of a cooperative and interdependent inter-European economic system. Parts of the overall project have progressed far enough[99] for the IFSH to have held a four-week post-graduate course on "European security and cooperation: practice and theoretical perspectives" at the Inter-University Center Dubrovnik in spring of 1975.

Inasmuch as peace is one of the requirements for a satisfying life in the scientific-technical world, the *Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung der Lebensbedingungen der wissenschaftlich-technischen Welt* in Starnberg (near Munich) might, in some ways, be classified as a peace research institute. Founded in 1970 by the Max-Planck-Society (which is federally funded) for its usual purpose of providing an outstanding scientist with a private research institute of his own, where he can pursue his studies unmolested by demands from students or others, the MPIL quickly expanded to its present proportions of 31 researchers (most of whom its director, Prof. C. F. von Weizsäcker, had brought along from Hamburg, where they were engaged in a research project for the Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler). Since September 1971, Prof. Jürgen Habermas (formerly of the University of Frankfurt and the leading exponent of "critical sociology") has been co-director of the institute.

Originally, the MPIL was very much involved in peace research and international studies. While still working at the VDW, Weizsäcker and his co-workers had begun a detailed analysis of the potential effects of war on the Federal Republic, which, when it was published in 1971, created quite a stir because of its conclusion that Germany could not survive any kind of war.[100] During the same period, this research team was also the German correspondent of the "World Order Models Project" of the World Law Fund (New York). Eventually, however, the team lost interest in these questions and turned to other pursuits such as development studies and environmental research. The MPIL as a whole is currently engaged in economic analyses of economic growth, of underdevelopment, of crisis tendencies, and of administrative systems. Further project groups deal with "alternatives in science," with "withdrawal tendencies of young people," with theoretical problems in the social sciences, and with basic problems in the natural sciences. Whether a truly interdisciplinary approach to the "analysis of living conditions in the scientific world" has resulted from these diverse research projects cannot yet be said. In any case, as far as peace research proper is concerned, only one of the MPIL's research fellows appears still to be working in this field, H. Afheldt, with research on "Real guarantees of European security."

Certain aspects of international relations are still at the center of attention of the *Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler*, originally an association of natural scientists with a strong interest in the social effects of their work. It was founded in 1959 as the result of the 1957 action of 18 scientists, who had protested against the Federal Republic's planned access to nuclear weapons. Today, the VDW numbers some 320 members (half of whom are social scientists). The purpose of the VDW is to study intensively certain problems on the importance of which most members agree. In the past, the VDW has been particularly influential with studies of the costs and effects of West Germany's civil defense program, with an analysis of the impending crisis in the world's supply of food,[101] and, of course, with the Weizsäcker study of the effects of war in Germany.

The *Vereinigung* conducts its work in study groups, made up of members with a special interest and competence in a certain subject, who are committed to intensive work. If a study group feels that its work ought to be accompanied by original research, it has the option of instituting a project group at the VDW's Forschungsstelle in Hamburg--another non-institutionalized research institute, which, because of financial difficulties, may be dissolved in late 1975. The Forschungsstelle's work, which cost some DM 750 000 a year, was financed up to 50% from the VDW's own funds (not without some internal disagreements concerning the proper use of these funds); the remaining portion of the costs was supplied by various German foundations. At the present time, 12 researchers are working on several study groups projects.

A study group on "European politics" (under the chairmanship of Prof. W. von Bredow, Marburg) is carrying out a research project on "Societal functions of international cooperation between states with different social systems--exemplified by the proposals for all-European cooperation."[102] The project group is now shifting its work to the Berghof Foundation's non-institute in Berlin. The study group itself may merge with a so far unrecognized study group *Militärpolitik*, which produced the *Anti-Weissbuch*. This publication, because of objections from the VDW's publication committee, could not be published as a VDW study. Current plans call for such a combined study group to initiate a project on "Disarmament in Europe." At the center of this project would be an examination of the politics and economics of the European armaments industry and of the trade unions represented there.

The VDW's Forschungsstelle is already very much engaged in questions of military economics and politics.[103] A study group on "Problems of developing countries" has initiated a research project on "Armaments-economic relations between industrial and developing countries." It is the central hypothesis of this (DGFK funded) project "that causes and effects of military armaments in peripheral countries can be described adequately only in connection with the development, and at the same time the development of underdevelopment, of these countries in the dependency structure between capitalist industrial states on the one side and dependent developing states on the other, as caused by the growth of the world market."[104] The project is to fill an important gap in the general debate over the causes of underdevelopment.[105]

A study group on "Civilian defense," chaired by Prof. T. Ebert, Berlin, is also interested in military questions, though from a different point of view. This group is active in preparing bibliographies and summary reports on civilian defense movements in several European countries, and is engaged in enlarging the theoretical base of civilian defense through simulation studies (carried out in cooperation with Dutch research institutes).[106] For 1974, the study group set itself as a research priority an analysis of the possibilities of instituting a civilian defense system for a united Europe.

Another study group, on "Problems of co-determination," though not engaged in international relations research, is conducting international studies of a comparative kind; it is attempting to determine the historical development of the labor movements in European countries[107] and to examine the various problems of co-determination in several European countries in order to discover general tendencies. The work of this study group is not supported by project groups at the Forschungsstelle.[108]

Peace research, and, therefore, studies of international relations, is of concern not only to young social scientists or engaged natural scientists; it is, as one might expect, also a focus of concern of religious organizations. In West Germany the Protestant Churches have been particularly active in this regard; an Evangelische Studiengemeinschaft (which was formed out of two other organizations in 1957) has, since 1958, supported a Forschungsstätte of its own in Heidelberg (FEST). FEST was one of the first research institutes to deal with questions of war and peace in the nuclear age; its series of studies on the political and social situation of the Bundeswehr represent the first serious social scientific attempts to deal with problems of national security in the Federal Republic. Since 1966, FEST has pursued research projects in the area of peace research proper, with a strong religious focus, of course. "The contribution of theology and the Church to peace" is the overall research program. The purpose of this program is "to define the scientific place and method of peace research, critically to analyze the results of peace research and to extend it, if possible, to confront it with theological questions, and to develop a strategy of Church-based peace and development work."[109] Apart from strictly theological studies of peace, FEST has conducted research work on arms races and technological innovation, on peace and war in the history of socialism, peace and war in the history of the Churches, and on problems of the transfer of education from the Federal Republic to underdeveloped countries (the latter project was supported by the DGFK). Currently FEST is working on the conditions required for security in Europe, and on the transnational cooperation of the Churches ("The responsibility of the Churches in the face of the peace-threatening relations between Western Europe and Southern Africa"). FEST is also active in collecting peace research literature (particularly grey literature), for which purpose it is in the process of developing a computer-based "Ecumenical Network of Information Systems"[110] in close co-operation with the Studies Division of the Lutheran World Council.

Collecting documentary material on wars which have occurred since 1945 is the task of the Stiftung Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte--Weltkriegsbücherei (Stuttgart). Originally it collected and evaluated international literature, newspapers, and archive material on the history of the First and Second World Wars (for which purpose it receives some DM 270 000 a year in federal support). More recently, however, it has expanded the scope of its activities; it is now collecting material on all wars that have occurred since 1945 (primarily those in Vietnam, Korea, and the Middle East).

Mostly bibliographical work is also done at the Forschungsstelle der Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Vereinten Nationen (Research Unit of the German United Nations Association) in Berlin, which has set itself the (VW Foundation-supported) task of developing a bibliography on the United Nations covering the years 1965-1975. This UN-Bibliography is to include, besides the literature references, qualitative analyses of the literature as a whole, based on a systems-theoretical integrated introduction to the structure and role of the United Nations, with the hope of describing the United Nations' strengths and weaknesses, and with the goal of showing where research gaps still might exist. Also with the help of the VW Foundation the Forschungsstelle held a major international conference on "Arms transfer and military aid to developing countries--causes, consequences, and issues of control" in Summer 1975. The Forschungsstelle, which at the moment has only 4 researchers, hopes eventually to become a full-fledged research institute on the United Nations.[111]

Economic Studies

West Germany's major economic research institutes play an important role as far as international studies are concerned, although their work is, unfortunately, not integrated into the mainstream of social science research work in international relations. The work of the Ifo-Institut and of the Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung in Berlin have already been referred to (in the discussion of the Foundations' activities. Because it is located in Berlin most of the DIW's international work is on the Eastern European countries. The two research institutes set up explicitly for the study of international economic problems: the HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung in Hamburg and the Institut für Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel also flourish because of their geographical locations. Both of these institutes are located in West Germany's major port cities, which--together with the Federal Government--fund their policy-relevant activities; (the HWWA alone has an annual budget of DM 7 million, half of which is supplied by the City of Hamburg, the other half by the Federal Government). The HWWA's department of international economic and development policies (which comprises some 30 researchers) analyzes the real and monetary foreign economic relations of industrial and developing countries and their effects on economic growth and economic structures. Making use of a data bank, the HWWA traces trade patterns of the most important countries in the East and West; it also follows the activities of multinational corporations, describes hindrances to international trade, and depicts investment opportunities. In general, the HWWA focuses on problems connected with a reform of the international trade and monetary system, on the operations of multinational corporations, on integration processes of the European Community, and on economic problems of developing countries--making use mostly of highly technical methods of economic analysis.[112] A roughly similar pattern of research interests prevails at the Institut für Weltwirtschaft in Kiel, which cooperates closely with the HWWA in the context of a *Sonderforschungsbereich* on international economic issues.

Some work on international studies is also done at the research institutes of West Germany's trade unions and industry associations: the Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut des Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes (Düsseldorf), where two research fellows try to keep up with the activities of multinational corporations[113] and attempt to plot counterstrategies for the unions.[114] The Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft (Köln)--also working on international problems--is less interested in multinational corporations and more concerned with questions of international trade and monetary policies, with economic integration, and with analyses of the economic systems of socialist countries (where it appears to focus less on serious research and more on public relations efforts).[115]

Comparative Studies

Much of the work of these economically oriented research institutes is primarily comparative in nature, and less focused on international relations as such. However, their comparative studies are frequently not coordinated and give the appearance of being incidental to the general research work. To get away from such incidental comparative studies, the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB) has begun to establish research institutes with a strictly comparative orientation, which are to focus on problem-oriented, policy-relevant fields of social research that are generally not covered by academic or private research institutes; special emphasis is placed on interdisciplinary and international research activities. The first of these institutes, the Internationales Institut für Management und Verwaltung (International Institute of Management: IIM), was founded in 1970 to conduct basic and applied research in the areas of industrial and governmental management and to serve as a training center for Ph.D. candidates on the one hand (for which the WZB was widely attacked as a "corporate university") and for managers on the other. The Federal Government, in 1973, contributed DM 4.2 million for these purposes (an additional DM 41 700 came from the City of Berlin). So far, most of the research work done at the IIM still reflects the original interests of the first group of research fellows. Since 1973, when Professor Scharpf of the University of Konstanz took over the directorship together with the Swedish professor W. Goldberg, the IIM has become well enough established to begin large-scale integrated research projects. The quality of such work can be expected to be high, because the IIM recruits half of its research team (of 30 at the present time) from abroad. The IIM's main interest is the interaction of state and private industry. It intends to conduct comparative studies of industrial democracy (co-determination) in nine European countries, of regional planning (its instruments and effects) in the Federal Republic, Great Britain, and Italy; of labor market policies in East and West European countries, and of problems of industrial policies in highly developed countries.[116]

The Wissenschaftszentrum is establishing another institute under its auspices, one designed to conduct comparative social research (Internationales Institut für vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung). The original proposal for the establishment of such an institute (which will have a large number of foreign scholars on its staff) came from Prof. P. C. Ludz (University of Munich), who has been the director of research teams which attempted comparative systems analyses of the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic (published as "Materials" accompanying the annual State of the Nation reports by the Federal Chancellor). The continuation of this work appeared to be Ludz's main reason for setting up such an institute; additional research proposals touched on forms of international cooperation between European states, on ideological processes of the past and the present, and on new theoretical efforts in the field of comparative studies. In the end, Ludz did not become the new institute's founding director; instead he chose to join the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in a part-time top-level function, so that the IIVG's research priorities remain, at the present time, somewhat undetermined. The new institute began operating in

October 1974 with a small group of researchers working on problems of foreign workers' integration (at their places of work) and re-integration (in their home countries); this study was made in close cooperation with the IIM. A more fully developed research program will have to be worked out by the IIVG's first directors, Profs. K. W. Deutsch (Harvard) and F. Naschold (Konstanz). In the not-too-distant future, the WZB hopes to establish additional institutes for comparative studies, one for comparative research on environmental problems, the other for comparative consumer research. Once these plans reach fruition, West Berlin will become a veritable center of comparative research, not only for Germany but probably for all of Europe.

Such research is badly needed, for it is evident that the field of comparative studies of highly industrialized societies is rather underdeveloped in the Federal Republic.[117] Apart from those institutes and institutions mentioned already, it is difficult to report on substantial research activities by other institutes. Although the relationship between the Federal Republic and France was long ago recognized as the cornerstone of a successful policy of European unification, very little research is done in Germany on French affairs (in contrast to a large number of activities regarding mutual exchange programs, particularly for the youths of each country).[118] There is only one institute on French affairs, the Deutsch-Französisches Institut in Ludwigsburg, which has only recently begun to conduct some research work (besides its educational work in Germany and France). This work is being funded by the VW Foundation. In its first stage, this research project will compile an annotated bibliography of the existing literature in the field; in a second stage, existing research results are to be surveyed and research gaps to be analyzed, before in a third and final stage, original interdisciplinary case studies of the general development of France since the end of the war and of the determining factors of the French-German relationship are to be carried out. The basic purpose of this research project appears to be more for public relations than for academic ends. West German opinion leaders are to be given up-to-date material on France, in the hope that Franco-German relations might be positively influenced this way. An exclusively public relations oriented institution in the field of Franco-German relations is the Gesellschaft für übernationale Zusammenarbeit in Köln, which organizes exchange programs between France and Germany and publishes quite an influential periodical, Dokumente, on French-German relations and other subjects.[119]

Research activities on political problems of European integration--i.e. from a non-legal perspective--are prominent only by their absence from the social science scene--an astonishing gap given the actual--and frequently professed--importance of the unification of Europe for the future of all European countries. Apart from the occasional work done on Western Europe which has already been mentioned (particularly at the universities of Cologne, Tübingen, and Constance),[120] there is very little else to report. Social questions seem to arouse most interest, and this coincides with former Chancellor Brandt's call for a "social union"; it also reflects the West German social scientists' fascination with everything having to do with "labor." Thus studies of problems arising from the migration of laborers from Europe's poorer to its richer areas, of issues of industrial codetermination,[121] and of trade union activities[122] are more frequent than analyses of Europe's political problems.[123]

The Europa-Institute at the universities of Saarbrücken and Mannheim, set up at a time when the idea of European unification was still enthusiastically supported by academic and political elites, are--perhaps unfortunately--not engaged in the kind of research on contemporary European political issues which might keep the European enterprise going. The Europa-Institut at the University of Saarbrücken, an institute for training and research, is engaged almost exclusively in work on legal aspects of European unification. The Europa-Institut at the University of Mannheim, in contrast, has--as well as a strong legal department--historians, linguists, and political scientists as members.[124] The latter are very much involved in the "European Consortium for Political Research," which attempts to bring together European political scientists in workshops, work-groups, and common research efforts; these activities, however, are not part of the research work at the Europa-Institut. Work at Mannheim is also being done on a "Theory of mass communication media in Europe" and on questions of the cooperation of European parties, but these are not large-scale research projects. The establishment of a Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen (Center for survey research, methods, and analyses--a DFG-funded survey research center which is to serve the entire West German academic community) will help to confirm this university's reputation as West Germany's center for behavioral research.

It is possible, though unlikely, that a new impetus for European studies in Germany will come from the recently established Institut fur Europäische Politik, which originally was founded (in 1959) as the Bildungswerk Europäische Politik, the stated purpose of which is the coordination of the educational work of several adult education institutes set up for the promotion of the idea of a united Europe. It is not yet a research institute, but stimulates research activities, which are geared toward providing educational material for the work of the Europa academies. The Institut has published books on "The criticism of the Young Left of Europe," and on "The crisis of the Atlantic

Partnership"; it has recently commissioned a series of articles on the cooperation of the European parties and on "Europe in public opinion." Another study will be on problems and prospects for a cooperation of European trade unions. The Institut also commissions or prepares memoranda on European problems intended primarily for policy-makers; in the past years these have included studies of the transition problems of a European economic and monetary union, of European economic policies in general and policies toward developing countries in particular, and of legal problems concerned with foreigners voting at their place of work. For all of these studies, the Institut has sought the cooperation of outside scholars, for whom the Institut, in turn, hopes to become a forum of discussion and a clearing house of information.[125]

Development Studies

If the primary purpose of comparative studies is to learn more about other countries in order to improve both one's own system and one's foreign policies, then this applies only to comparative studies on highly developed countries. Studies of underdeveloped countries are inspired by different motives. Their purpose is to learn how to improve the affairs of those countries studied. Ideally, help, not gain, is the motive. At least this is the justification on the basis of which much of development research has been carried out.

Many people in developing countries, and the more radically minded social scientists in the developed countries, are beginning to question the beneficial effects of development studies. They are often seen as an instrument of exploitation or a manifestation of cultural and scientific imperialism. An increasingly vigorous debate over the purposes and effects of development and area studies, arising from these considerations, has recently begun to shape the course and conduct of development studies in the Federal Republic.

Whether or not development studies, as claimed by one side, have indeed contributed to helping underdeveloped countries develop, or whether, as charged by the other side, development studies have had the effect of stabilizing economies in the developed countries and thus causing more underdevelopment in (then not) developing countries--this question cannot be resolved in the context of this survey.[126] We will, however, attempt to trace the development of these competing schools of thought in the course of describing the numerous institutes of development research and area studies.

A recent survey commissioned by the Interdisziplinärer Arbeitskreis fur Entwicklungsländerforschung (IAFEF)[127] attempted to provide a picture of ten years' development studies in the Federal

Republic (1960-1970). During this time 484 research units produced some 3100 research reports (as listed in various bibliographical surveys).[128] The number of such reports increased sharply between 1963 and 1967, and has since dropped off.

Most of that research work cannot be classified as international studies in the social sciences, as defined for the purposes of this survey. Since development studies are to provide the scientific bases for development aid (a large number of these studies were commissioned by the several West German agencies concerned with development aid), and since development aid has so far been mostly economic and technical aid, most of the development studies have been of a highly technical and economic nature. A breakdown of the 3100 research reports during the period 1960-1970 shows that approximately 33% of all studies were on economic issues; 15% dealt with agricultural problems, 20% with "culture and society," and 15% with "politics, state, and law." 5% each fell into the categories Landeskunde (which can mean anything between geography and ethnology), arts, education, and "nature and technology."[129] As far as regional areas are concerned, 24% of all studies were on Asia, 23% on Africa, 16% on Latin America, and 11% on the Near East; 20% dealt with developing countries in general.[130]

A more recent count of research institutes engaged in development studies shows that at the time of writing (1972) exactly 244 such institutes existed in West Germany (3/4 of which were university institutes), and that of these, 105 specialized in African affairs, 44 in Latin American affairs, 27 in Asian affairs, while 69 shared a non-regional orientation.[131] Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether this substantially smaller count reveals a real decline in the number of research institutes, or whether it merely reflects different coding procedures; in any case, it can safely be said that most of these institutes lead a marginal existence at best. Large-scale research, particularly in the social sciences, is done only at the few major research institutes, which were established during the 1960's, mostly under the initiative of public agencies.

Apart from the large economic research institutes (especially the HWWA-Institut in Hamburg, the Institut für Weltwirtschaft in Kiel, and the Ifo-Institute in Munich), which conduct economic development studies as part of their regular work, the most important research institutes dealing exclusively with development studies are undoubtedly the Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik in Berlin (DIE) and the Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institut (ABI) in Freiburg.

The DIE was founded in 1964 by the Federal Government and the City of Berlin, which agreed to share equally the basic costs for this research and training institute. These costs amount to some DM 3.5 million a year, and go to finance the research work of 21 research fellows, a substantial library, and the training of postgraduates for careers in national and international development organizations. The DIE's basic function is "to apply the scientific methods of the economic and social sciences to current problems of international development and thus to make a contribution towards the further development of these methods in the direction of a closer relationship with practice." In other words, the DIE sees itself as being "in the area between science and political decision-making."[133] In practice, this means that the DIE's research work is primarily of an applied and not of a basic nature. The DIE's close involvement with political practice is also evident in the fact that it serves in an advisory function to the Ministry for Economic Cooperation (BMZ) and other development aid agencies. The DIE's research work is concentrated on three research groups. The Arbeitsgruppe, "International trade and adjustment policies," works on problems of resource policies, trade policies for industrial products, and of the association of underdeveloped countries with the Common Market. Another working group is engaged in the planning of regional development programs. Development programs for agriculture, industries, education, and regions in all underdeveloped areas of the world are dealt with in this group. The third working group is focused on "Social planning and development aid." The work of this group is concentrated on developing social programs, particularly in the fields of health and nutrition. In general, the DIE seeks to discover new forms of development aid and economic cooperation; it wants to get away from technical problems to more global strategies. The DIE appears to find little use for critical approaches to the study of underdevelopment.

The Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institut was also founded in 1964. It grew out of a "Center for Cultural Research" which had been established in 1960 by Prof. Bergsträsser. After his death, his successor, Prof. Oberndorfer, enlarged the Center into an independent research institute carrying the name of its original founder. ABI is, comparatively speaking, a large research organization: it employs more than 40 researchers. It is funded by the Ministry for Cultural Affairs of the State of Baden-Württemberg (additional funds come from foundations and federal agencies).

Over the years ABI has developed two interests, which are represented in its two working departments. The Department of Educational Studies works mainly on the interaction between the educational and the political systems of developing countries and on political socialization and political behavior. ABI's research projects are concentrated on comparative studies within this broad area of interest; among other topics, this department has studied the importance of education in the conception of development policies, decision-making

121

processes in education, political attitudes of students and their derivation from political socialization processes, and education, social stratification and social mobility.

ABI's second research priority is pursued by its Department of Administrative Studies. "This department does research on the developmental role and importance of administration, on the recruiting patterns of the administrative services, and on the motivations, attitudes, and aspirations of state officials."[134] The empirical work carried out by this department (empirical work which, still unique for most West German social scientists, makes use of packaged computer programs) appears to have a strong regional focus on Latin American countries: two large-scale projects deal with fiscal administration in Costa Rica and Guatemala and with development administration in four countries of the Caribbean area (the latter an ADLAF-sponsored project). ABI is interested in expanding the regional focus of its administrative studies to countries in Asia (Indonesia) and Africa (Lesotho) in the context of a research project on bureaucratic cadres and their capacities in selected branches of the national administration. In its special areas: education and administration (for which its substantial library attempts to collect all relevant literature), the Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institut is widely acknowledged to be without competition in Germany.[135]

Another center for development studies in the Federal Republic is university-based; it is the Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Enwicklungspolitik at the *Ruhr-Universität* Bochum (IEE). The Ruhr-University (in the heart of the Ruhr district) is one of Germany's newest universities. Founded in 1966, the IEE is an attempt to institutionalize interdisciplinary development research. At the present time some 20 scholars from economics, sociology, political science, demography, law, and geo-sciences work together on "the formulation of theoretical knowledge of the development process."[136] The work of the institute is largely structured through its involvement in the DFG's *Sonderforschungsbereich* on development policy and development research (for which SFB the Ruhr-University is responsible).

The research activities of the IEE are carried out by 7 different sections. A section on "general development policies" gathers and evaluates existing indicators of economic development, analyzes already published developmental models, and formulates alternative developmental action programs. Its countries are Afghanistan and the People's Republic of China.

A second section concentrates its work on educational problems, particularly those of the tertiary sector (India, Thailand, Turkey, and Argentina). Scientific aid, adult education programs, and manpower planning are the other research interests of this group. The structures and capabilities of political and administrative systems in underdeveloped countries are being investigated by a third section. Here, particular emphasis is placed on studies of the possibilities of increasing the efficiency of public administrations through structural reforms (with Yemen as a case study), and on analyses of the processes of developmental decision-making. The remaining sections conduct research on agricultural problems (especially the relevance of the agricultural sector for the development process in Afghanistan and India), on demographic issues (principally population control and population growth prognoses), on economic and social geography, and on statistics and econometric methods in development research. In addition to these basic research programs, the IEE engages in contract research (mostly for the BMZ).

The Sonderforschungsbereich "Entwicklungspolitik" was one of the first SFB's to be established (in 1969). At the present time, three separate large-scale research programs are being pursued by this SFB's 33 scholars (not all of whom are from Bochum, there are also scholars from the Technical University Aachen). The goal of the development policy SFB is to devise developmental strategies; the three research projects are designed to yield such strategies on a regional, national, and global level. The regional project is carried out in Andhra Pradesh, India; its aim is to investigate the strategy of economic, political, and socio-cultural integration of one particular region as a strategy of furthering development. In this project the Bochum scholars are cooperating closely with the University of Hyderabad.

The second project seeks to examine the relevance of "socio-economic strategies for national educational planning in developing countries." Two research tasks stand at the center of this project: an attempt to devise alternative methods for manpower planning through the collection and application of cross-national socio-economic data of 120 countries (instead of time-series data for one country); and a regional case study in Thailand of occupational structures and the goals and motivations of students.

The third project within the Bochum SFB is to investigate the "coordination and intensification of worldwide developmental activities as a strategic concept for the second UN development decade." This primarily economically oriented global research project initially focused on an analysis of the consistency of the means and goals as proclaimed in the Second Development Decade program. More recently attention has been turned to the collection and evaluation of socio-economic data of 40 developing countries, with the aim of examining the compatability of the goals of increasing income and increasing income equality. In the end the scholars involved in this part of the SFB hope to formulate concrete strategic proposals on how the goals of economic growth, a more equitable income distribution, and increased employment opportunities might be achieved.

As already pointed out, the Bochum SFB includes scholars from another North-Rhine-Westphalian university, the Technical University of Aachen, where a Forschungsinstitut für internationale technisch-wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit is located. This research institute for international techno-economic cooperation was initially founded as a private institute, which later gained closer ties with the Technical University. Since 1968, the institute has been fully integrated into the Technical University, even to the extent that more recently teaching activities have supplanted research activities in importance. Given its location, it can come as no surprise that the institute considers as its unique contribution to development studies research activities centered in the boundary area between technology and economics. These activities, which the institute finances partly through its own resources (additional funds come from the BMZ), are mainly on economic problems of industrialization, on the transfer of technology, and on technical educational training programs. While the research done by the institute's 10 research fellows is not exclusively technical, nor is it pure social science research, especially since much of the work done at the Aachen institute is applied research on a contract basis. Nevertheless, given this rare combination of technical and economic skills, the *Forschungsinstitut* can make important contributions to development studies (especially now that the strategy of technology transfer has superseded previous development strategies on the build-up of capital-intensive and labor-intensive industries in developing countries).[137]

Until recently, the Aachen institute also cooperated very closely with the Sozialpsychologische Forschungsstelle für Entwicklungsplanung an der Universität des Saarlandes (FEE) in Saarbrücken, another university-based development research institute. During the time of its cooperation with Aachen, the FEE's work consisted mainly of evaluative studies of technical training and education programs in developing countries. This cooperative undertaking was called off in 1973, when the FEE's research staff (four research assistants) decided that the accumulated material needed further evaluation (and might serve as a basis for personal research efforts leading to dissertations). The *Forschungsstelle* was also involved with the *Sonderforschungsbereich* "Research on South Asia" (at the University of Heidelberg), conducting a study of the relationship between doctors and patients in Thailand. Now that this SFB has been shelved, at least temporarily, the FEE is continuing this research on the basis of "normal DFG grants (and with the inclusion of comparative data from the Federal Republic).

A non-university research institute specializing in agricultural studies is the Forschungsstelle für internationale Agrarentwicklung in Heidelberg. Founded in 1961 in Bonn, the FIA moved to Heidelberg in 1965 because the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Land Baden-Württemberg agreed to provide it with some basic operating funds (which in 1973 amounted to half of the total DM 600 000 budget of the Forschungsstelle, the remaining funds having been made available through foundation grants and BMZ contracts). The Research Center for International Agrarian Development, as it is officially called,[138] has a staff of some 10 scholars, half of whom are sociologists, the other half agricultural economists. This division of competencies reflects the FIA's twofold research program: "Problems of the institutional framework in agricultural development" and "Problems of agrarian structure." In the former, attention is centered on "current problems of rural cooperation in developing countries, with special emphasis on cooperative farming, cooperative promotion of agricultural production, and new forms of cooperation and integration in agricultural production." The Forschungsstelle is particularly interested in forms of cooperation in the area of agricultural production; for the collection of specialized literature in this field it was recently given a grant by the VW Foundation.[139] The second FIA concentrates on "problems of land tenure in developing countries and their significance for the planning, implementation and evaluation of agricultural development projects." The FIA has initiated a computer program of questionnaire items; it eventually hopes to construct a data file which will allow systematic access to existing questionnaire items for special regional problems.

As already mentioned, development studies are also carried out by the research institute of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, and, to a more limited extent (primarily in the form of project evaluation studies) by the Institut für Internationale Solidarität of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and by the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung. Finally, not to be forgotten, are the manifold activities of the Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung, particularly its Central Documentation in Bonn.

The research work of the institutes described so far can, on the whole, be said to fall into the category of "traditional development studies": it tries to discover endogenous factors of underdevelopment and exogenous means of overcoming it. This approach to development studies, commonly referred to as "modernization studies," has recently come under strong attack by neo-Marxist scholars of imperialism, who argue that development studies should leave questions of modernization behind and instead concentrate on analyses of the exogenous factors of underdevelopment and of endogenous means of overcoming it.

128

In the Federal Republic, as elsewhere, this attack on traditional development studies has been led by an increasingly influential group of peace researchers. Development studies are therefore beginning to be reclassed under the more general heading of peace research. It will be recalled that for purposes of *Praxisrelevanz* the DGFK will fund only those projects which deal with "conflicts between West European industrial states and developing countries and their peaceful resolution."

Development studies of the dependency analysis kind are already in progress at the VDW's Forschungsstelle in Hamburg, which, apart from its critical analysis of development research in the Federal Republic, is conducting a research project on weapons transfer between developed and underdeveloped countries. At the *Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung der Lebensbedingungen der wissenschaftlich-technischen Welt* in Starnberg a team of researchers is investigating the effects of the new forms of the international division of labor on the social structures of both underdeveloped and developed countries; special attention here is paid to the development of an appropriate theoretical framework for the systematic description of the internationalization of capital and labor (empirical work so far has been focused on studies of the internationalization of production).[140] Finally, the most ambitious research project, which is likely to end up as a collection of articles on a certain broad topic, in the area of critical development studies will be the DVPW's Sektion *Internationale* Politik's study of the structure of the international system, which is to focus on strategies for overcoming underdevelopment.[141]

Area Studies

Development studies of the kind described so far seek to apply general knowledge about the causes of underdevelopment and the possible processes of development to specific cases, often on a short-term contract research basis. There exists, however, another kind of development studies, which starts with specific knowledge about a certain country or area of the world and seeks to make use of this detailed knowledge in the development process of that particular country. It is argued (by a regional institute in this case) that with the political shift in development aid from project aid to program aid "the need of the development aid administration for well-founded knowledge about the situation in each receiving country does not decrease, but, to the contrary, must increase";[142] otherwise, complex development programs cannot be properly evaluated and will, therefore, be more likely to fail. Regional studies, from which such knowledge derives, have a long history in Germany; one which, however, as was pointed out earlier, is not too distinguished for its record of providing information about current economic, social, and political affairs. *Gegenwartsbezogene Regionalforschung* is still something of a rarity in the Federal Republic, although great improvements have recently been made under the prodding of various interested Federal agencies and private foundations.

For mainly historical reasons, most of the regional institutes are in the City of Hamburg, the political administration of which has a long-standing interest in furthering the port's trade with other countries. The University of Hamburg was originally founded as a School of Colonial Studies. Over the years four regional institutes grew in Hamburg, the Institut für Asienkunde, the Deutsches Orient-Institut, the Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde, and the Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung. In 1964 these four institutes were united under the roof of the Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-Institut (DUI), which in turn received an institute of its own, the Institut fur Allgemeine Überseeforschung.

The four regional institutes have retained much of their former independence; they are still housed separately from the DUI and are free to pursue, within certain limits, research of their own. Their documentation centers have been combined by the DUI and are now located in its building. These documentation centers (in part supported by the Ministry for Economic Cooperation) form the heart of the DUI's work. Coordinated by the DUI, the *Dokumentationsleitstellen* of the regional institutes prepare bibliographic surveys of the literature in their fields, selected portions of which are regularly published. The documentation centers do not collect the literature they keep track of, but they include information on where in Germany it can be found, thus providing West German scholars with access lists of relevant literature for the areas of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the modern Orient.

Besides coordinating the regional institutes' documentation efforts, the DUI also attempts to organize overall research programs for all institutes. The formulation and supervision of the common research program is the task of the Institut für Allgemeine Überseeforschung (IAU), which has four permanent and four project-bound research fellows on its staff. Recently, the four regional institutes, in cooperation with the central IAU, investigated the economic role of Japan in the four regions. During the coming years the IAU is planning research on processes of economic regionalization. Finally, the IAU intends to examine more fully the political aspects of world-wide economic cooperation. Emphasis in all these studies is to be on the role of multinational corporations and on the concrete political problems of the association of underdeveloped countries in their relations with the European Common Market.[143]

The Institut für Asienkunde (IA), founded in 1956 on the initiative of the *Auswärtiges Amt* and the *Bundestag* (the *Auswärtiges Amt*, or Foreign Office, is still contributing two-thirds of the IA's costs), is the most important institute for Asian studies in the Federal Republic. It has 11 scholars on its staff, whose main research is on the People's Republic of China. Japanese affairs and the political and economic affairs of other Asian countries are investigated occasionally, but primarily in the form of research contracted out by the IA. Its main interest, as far as China is concerned, is in Chinese domestic affairs and in problems of Chinese foreign policy from a Chinese perspective. The IA maintains a large library which includes collections of microfilms and microfiches of difficult-to-obtain Chinese documentary material. Two periodicals, the monthly *CHINA aktuell* and *North Korea Quarterly*, are written by the IA's staff and offer up-to-date information and analyses of events in China and North Korea. In addition, the staff members pursue research projects; work in progress includes a study of "The role of Lin Piao in the conflict between civilian and military power in the PRC," an analysis of "The foreign policy of the PRC," a survey of "Economic trends in Southeast Asia," and the preparation of the unauthorized writings of Mao Tse-tung for publication in German.[144] The activities of the *Dokumentations-Leitstelle Asien*, which prepares lists of the economics and social science literature on all Asian countries have already been described.

As has been pointed out repeatedly, the state of contemporary social science scholarship in the Federal Republic on all regions of the world, including Asia, is not of a satisfying quality. This is a judgment which those scholars interested in contemporary Asian affairs themselves maintain. A recent survey of *Ostasienforschung* in West Germany reveals the scarcity of social science research on contemporary Asia; its author reached the conclusion that, as Asia is bound to dominate the 21st century, "research on Asia is research on the future," and that so far West Germany is ill-prepared for this future.[145]

Aside from those research organizations already mentioned which carry out occasional research projects in Asia (such as the development institutes, the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik or Geschwister-Scholl-Institut at the University of Munich), contemporary studies on Asia are conducted at only a small number of institutes. The Arbeitsstelle "Politik Chinas und Ostasiens" at the Free University of Berlin (Prof. J. Domes, director) is engaged in both teaching and research, though on a comparatively small scale. Only three assistants (in addition to student assistants) and the director are working on Chinese and Asian affairs. The *Arbeitsstelle* was set up in 1967; since then 21 students have graduated with a major in Asian studies, while 7 received doctorates (for dissertations ranging from studies of the Cultural Revolution and Chinese foreign policy to development politics in Afghanistan). At the present time, 6 Doktoranden are preparing dissertations on Marxism in China, on public administrative structures in China, on "Hsia-Fang," on Hongkong riots, on the foreign policy of Korea, and on the Vietnam policies of the first Nixon Administration. Larger research projects of the Arbeitsstelle's teaching staff are being conducted on "Soviet and Chinese policies toward India, 1950-1970," and on the politics of the Chinese Communist Military (the latter a DFG-funded project which includes the preparation of a detailed annotated bibliography). One research fellow, with the help of a VW Foundation grant,[146] is preparing a "Documentary history of the Chinese Communist Military, 1927-1949." A larger study of "China after the Cultural Revolution" was concluded recently and published by Prof. Domes. The Arbeitsstelle is also collecting monitored radio programs of the period 1957-1972, among others. Its teaching, research, and especially documentary work is restricted by an extremely tight budget. The Arbeitsstelle's research program is unlikely to widen in scope in the near future, particularly now that Prof. Domes has moved to the University of Saarbrücken.

A similar situation prevails at the Abteilung Ostasienwissenschaften, Sektion für Politikwissenschaft at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum. It was originally conceived as an Ostasien-Institut, where there would be intensive Asian language programs and large interdisciplinary research projects for economists and social scientists. The Department for East Asian Studies has since been forced to reduce its planned program because of budgetary constraints, to the point where today no original research is being carried out; and teaching is on Chinese and Japanese politics. (Of course, research on Asian affairs--though not on Asian politics--is conducted at the Bochum institute for development studies and its Sonderforschungsbereich).

The only other research institute working exclusively on Asia is the Südasien Institut of the University of Heidelberg. Its development, too, has remained far behind original expectations. Founded in 1962 "as a meeting place between East and West," the SAI was intended to carry out interdisciplinary research, based on a strong tradition of Indology at Heidelberg. The SAI is made up of 13 departments: archaeology, agrarian policy, economics, ethnology, geography, history, history of art, history of religion, Indology, law, political science, sociology, and tropical hygiene. The South Asia Institute is regarded as "a confederation of professorial chairs"--there are 8, though 14 were originally planned--and this has led to the suspension of the Sonderforschungsbereich on South Asia. No other concentrated research appears to be conducted. The individual professors (and their few assistants) pursue their own narrow interests. The Professor of Political Science seems mostly interested in the history of Burma (as are his Doktoranden), whereas the Professor of History is a well-known expert on the contemporary international relations of India. The SAI gives all the appearances of being a confused place, the future of which is by no means certain.

There is only one research institute in the Federal Republic concerned exclusively with contemporary analyses of the Near and Middle East: the Deutsches Orient-Institut (which is part of the Stiftung DUI). There are a large number of classically oriented institutes and institutions (in addition to development institutes and technical institutes which occasionally deal with Middle Eastern affairs),[147] but for studies of the modern Middle East, the situation is quite bad at a time when intimate knowledge of Middle Eastern affairs is of unquestioned importance for the well-being of European countries. Even the Deutsches Orient-Institut (DOI) with its ten research fellows (including those working in the Dokumentationsleitstelle Moderner Orient at the DUI cannot fill the gap.

The research work of the DOI is concentrated on three priority research areas. There are no narrowly defined research projects; but the DOI is prepared to carry out short-term and medium-term projects (frequently on a contract basis to federal agencies or private business). The first of these priority areas is "Regional Development in the Near and Middle East," which focuses on political systems and developments within the whole area (including Israel, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan).[148] A second research priority analyzes the relations between countries of the Near and Middle East and countries of the European Economic Community and the EEC itself. The third research priority--the relationship between Japan and the Orient--was part of the DUI's overall program; it has recently been concluded. The DOI is interested in political, economic, and social problems of the area, interests which are reflected in the DOI's documentation efforts (which include special collections of legal documents and of "grey literature"). The DOI publishes West Germany's only periodical on the Near and Middle East, the quarterly Orient, and serves as the secretariat for the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vorderer Orient für gegenwartsbezogene Forschung und Dokumentation, an association of 22 institutes interested in contemporary studies of the Orient.[149]

Oriental and African studies overlap to a considerable degree because North Africa is inhabited by Arabs. Of the 221 institutes and institutions which are listed in a recent survey of African studies in the Federal Republic,[150] a large number are also included in a similar survey of Oriental studies. The overlap is even more

133

evident in the fact that, according to a survey of courses on Africa taught at German universities during the year 1972, 34% of all courses (out of a total of 173) were on *Ägyptologie*--i.e. classical studies of ancient Egypt.[151] If the additional 37% of courses in the fields of language and literature are taken into consideration, it is evident that African studies are no exception to the general pattern of regional studies in the Federal Republic: classical studies predominate over contemporary social science studies to an almost incredible degree (only 7% of all courses taught on Africa in 1972 had a contemporary focus).

Besides those institutes whose research work on Africa has already been referred to (in particular the Ifo-Institut, the Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, and the Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institut), research on modern African affairs is carried out at the Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung in Hamburg and at the Free University in Berlin. The *Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung*, or DIAF, now associated with the Stiftung Deutsches Übersee Institut, was founded in 1963 for the purpose of providing government, private industry, and the scholarly community with up-to-date information about African countries. DIAF is a comparatively small institute, only four research fellows--an historian, a lawyer, and two economic geographers--are on the permanent staff, but additional research may be contracted out. The research program is correspondingly modest; projects are being carried out on "Problems of cooperation in Central and West Africa--a political-economic analysis" (in the context of which regional imbalances and institutional questions will be studied), on economic cooperation of the Maghreb countries, and on legal aspects of private investment in Africa. Another project deals with "Mining resources in Southern Africa with special emphasis on 'Resources Diplomacy' in international relations and its effects on Europe." This project--which eventually is to include other parts of Africa as well--is being carried out by outside scholars. The DIAF, like the other DUI regional research institutes, devotes a lot of its time to collecting hard-to-get documentary material (legal documents from some 56 African states and regional organizations, and "grey literature"), to the publication of a periodical, *Afrika Spectrum*, and to secretarian work for a coordinating association, the *Arbeitskreis der Deutschen Afrika-Forschungs- und Dokumentationsstellen.* All of the DUI-institutes publish their research reports (and the research work of others) in publication series of their own.[152]

DIAF's main interest is in socio-economic issues rather than political issues.[153] But political issues are the principal interest of the five researchers working at the *Arbeitsstelle Politik Afrikas* at the Free University of Berlin, and of the 18 *Doktoranden* who are preparing their dissertations under the direction of Prof. F. Ansprenger, the director of the "African Politics Research Unit." In the past years, the APA's work was more historically oriented, focusing on questions of colonialism and decolonialization.[154] Current and future interests will be international relations within Africa and the politics of African states within the international system. Several of the dissertations are on aspects of international relations while others examine problems and aspects of internal development, particularly with questions of international inequality and dependence. The question of dependence--or more concretely the question of the applicability of dependence theories to the special circumstances of African countries, and the relationship between the foreign policies of various African countries and their dependencies within the international system--will be the *Arbeitsstelle*'s main research interest in the near future. The question of the applicability of dependence theories will be the subject of analysis of a pilot study within the proposed *Forschungsgebietsschwerpunkt* "Foreign Policy" at the Free University; the question of the relationship between international dependence and the conduct of foreign policy will be examined as a DFG-funded research project.

Latin American studies in the Federal Republic share the fate of other regional studies: too much attention to ethnological and classical studies[155] and, despite a large number of institutes which do some work on Latin America, only a small number of strictly Latin America-focused institutes.[156] Again, the most important institute is the DUI-associated *Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde* (IIAK) Hamburg. Because of its close cooperation with the *Ibero-Amerika-Verein*, it is perhaps even more practically-economically oriented than the DIAF. Its eight staff members (4 permanent, 4 only for specific projects) are mostly economists, whose main task is to investigate problems of development financing, direct foreign investments in Latin American countries, and the economic relations between Latin America and West Germany. Its two sociologists have worked on problems of regional and national integration in Latin America (one project was on a critical analysis of the "Brasilian model"). The IIAK, like the other DUI-institutes, is financed largely through the City of Hamburg's budget and partially through research work for the BMZ and research projects funded by the VW Foundation. The latter, as has already been mentioned, is supporting a study of the relationship between international economic relations and national development in Latin America.[157] More recently the VW Foundation granted the IIAK DM 550 000 for an ADLAF-sponsored research project on "Urbanization, industrialization, and regional development outside the metropolitan centers of Latin America: a case study of Southern Peru."

More directly political and sociological studies are being pursued by other institutes. Besides those whose activities have already been mentioned (in particular the Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institut and the DFG's Mexico-Project), social science research on Latin America is conducted at two university institutes in Berlin and Bielefeld--albeit with great difficulties. The Lateinamerika-Institut of the Free University of Berlin, which was founded in 1969, is an interdisciplinary center for Latin American studies, where all disciplines (including language training) are represented. Among its staff are three political scientists and five sociologists, who work on projects of their own rather than on large-scale coordinated projects. The institute was to have set up an SFB on "The utilization of economic resources in Latin America--a critical analysis of public and private measures." This came to nothing partly because of the Lateinamerika-Institut's inability to work efficiently in an interdisciplinary fashion. Now that a *Sonderforschungbereich* is no longer envisaged at the Free University, the staff of the LAI may begin to work together after all. Rudimentary working groups have begun to form on peasant studies in Peru, industrial development in Chile while it had a socialist system, and regional developments in Argentina and Brasil. These working groups are gradually turning into research groups proper. In addition to its structural problems, the Lateinamerika-Institut, like every institute at the Free University, has also been beset by political problems, which resulted in two professors' leaving the institute. At the moment, internal political discussions are on whether the institute's long-term purpose should be to train experts on Latin America for the West German bureaucracies, or to pursue the true interests of the Latin American people.

The *Forschungsschwerpunkt Lateinamerika* at the University of Bielefeld is also beset by problems. Its founder, Prof. H. A. Steger, has left Bielefeld for the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, and a planned research priority program under the auspices of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung (ADLAF's secretariat is currently with the Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde) has to be abandoned. Also abandoned were plans for a *Sonderforschungsbereich* on Caribbean studies.[158] Currently the *Forschungsschwerpunkt*'s eight scholars are working on two research projects: "Barriers to social development in Latin America" and "The integration of the Latin American society into the capitalist system: social progress or permanent underdevelopment--the case of Brasil, Chile, and Peru."

In view of the difficulties faced by university-based research institutes, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung* has made considerable efforts to improve the state of Latin American studies (with the substantial help of the VW Foundation, which over the years has provided ADLAF with some DM 4 million). Part of these efforts was to improve the infrastructure of Latin American studies in the Federal Republic; measures here ranged from the installation of telex lines between the most important institutes to the publication of newsletters and the holding of frequent conferences. The other more recent part consisted in setting up ADLAF-originated and sanctioned research projects (also VW Foundation-financed). One of the projects has already been referred to: the study of public administration in the Caribbean area (at the Bergsträsser-Institut). The other of these projects is currently being carried out in the Bonn/Köln area: "Developmental problems in non-tropical areas of Latin America from a historical, geographical, and regional-political perspective." This study on urban-rural differences in Chile involves the Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (which is analyzing processes of interaction of capital, labor, traffic, information, banks etc., i.e. elements and mechanisms of regional development), the Geographisches Institut of the University of Bonn (which is looking at migration problems due to shifting mining patterns and shifting agricultural patterns), and the Historisches Seminar of the University of Köln (which is analyzing the region's historical development). The main portions of this research project (in which the three institutes appear to be working quite independently of each other) will be completed within the near future.

The future of contemporary social science research on Latin America looks bleak, now that the VW Foundation has decided to eliminate Latin American studies as a priority research area. The VW Foundation's importance in area studies in the Federal Republic will have become very clear in the course of this paper. During the last ten years or so, it paid out more than DM 8 million for East Asian studies and more than DM 4 million for Latin American studies. Between 1971 and 1974, the VW Foundation contributed DM 3.5 million to East European studies and DM 2.1 million to Oriental studies. These figures make clear that area studies in West Germany will undergo significant changes, whenever the VW Foundation restructures its programs, particularly as the other major foundations are unlikely to fill the gaps created by the VW Foundation. This means that East Asia and Latin America will receive less attention from West German social scientists than they have in years past. Whether this is a desirable development, especially when the importance of such countries as China, Japan, Brazil and Venezuela are taken into account, is at least open to debate. On the other hand, there is no denying the importance of the Middle East and Eastern Europe for West Germany. The VW Foundation has made its choice; and the fact that it had to make a choice in research priorities only goes to show how difficult the social science enterprise in the Federal

137

Republic has become of late. The future, unfortunately, does not appear much brighter.

Conclusion

We set out to describe the complexities, and indeed confusions, of international studies in the Federal Republic. In this attempt the problems faced by scholars engaged in international studies--structural, financial, personal, and--last but not least--ideological ones--occupied our attention more and more. The conclusion seems to be that the study of International Relations, Peace Research, Comparative Studies, Development Studies, and Area Studies--i.e. International Studies--in the Federal Republic of Germany are in a difficult position today.

After their rapid take-off phase which began around 1965, International Studies in West Germany appear now, some ten years later, to be in a holding pattern, from which they may either come down to earth or take off for further flights. Many plans that were made during the take-off phase never materialized, or failed in their execution. The capacities for large-scale interdisciplinary research in West Germany were over-estimated; as was its potential contribution to political practice. In the process, many policy-makers became disillusioned about the contributions that the social sciences might be able to make to a solution of the pressing problems of our time, while many social scientists began to seek a way out of their dilemma by calling for more radical solutions (which the policy-maker, in turn, could not accept). Thus the social sciences themselves have become polarized and politicized to an unhealthy degree, a development which does not further a better understanding between *Theorie* and *Praxis*, and which leaves the major foundations in the uncomfortable position of having to mediate between the two--and this at a time of shrinking financial resources.

Somehow the expectations of theory on the one side and political practice on the other will have to converge again, if the social sciences in general, and International Studies in particular, are to remain a going enterprise. The suspicion here is that they will. Pressures from the political side, pressures from the academic market place, and pressures from the public at large will force a de-radicalization of the social sciences in West Germany. At the same time the course of events will force policy-makers time and again to turn to social scientists for advice. Together, these pressures should bring about a consolidation of the social sciences and their research activities. If not, the complexity and confusion of International Studies (as one part of the social sciences) will be

138

reduced drastically, but not in the direction of more constructive activities at all. Obviously, this would be in the interest of neither Theorie nor Praxis.

Notes

1. These figures represent rough estimates at best.

2. I am grateful to all those persons and institutions who helped in gathering the information required for such an extensive survey, either by providing written information or by submitting to sometimes lengthy interviews. The Informationszentrum für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung in Bonn provided me with computer printouts, conveniently classified, of research work listed in 1972. These proved invaluable, and I am grateful for the courteous and speedy help by the IZ.

3. It might be concluded that official West German funding agencies as well as the private foundations still feel that Western studies should be conducted by American scholars from the fact that the West German Government contributed DM 50 million to the "German Marshall Fund of the United States" and the Krupp Foundation recently granted $2 million to the Center for West European Studies at Harvard University.

4. The West German government never left any doubts as to its intentions regarding Ostforschung. It was interested in having those kinds of information made public which would allow the West German public to withstand the propaganda efforts being directed at the Federal Republic from the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic especially. In addition, such information was supposed to keep alive the wishes and hopes for eventual reunification of Germany "in peace and liberty."

5. The Federal Government, in 1972, listed 12 Ostforschung-Institutes it was supporting, and only 6 for all other areas of international studies. See Bundesbericht Forschung IV, Bd. 3: Materialien (Bonn: Bundestag Drucksache VI/3251), pp. 20-22, for a list of research institutes and their priority work.

6. In the 1950's the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), besides its support for Ostforschung, had only one further priority research project for "economic and social sciences." Other such projects under the general category of "humanities" (Geisteswissenschaften) were "archeology and pre-history," "Roman Provincial archeology," "pre- and early history," "ethnology," "history of art," "linguistics," "economic geography," and "cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts."

7. According to a rough count of the number of researchers employed at various area studies institutes in West Germany, some 52% of all those doing research on the Near East were ethnologists; some 47% in Asian studies; 32% in Latin American studies; and 20% in African studies (based on 1971 surveys). These figures are taken from survey reports by the four area studies associations.

8. Fritz Opitz, *Die Asienforschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1971), p. 4.

9. In 1955 there were 6 chairs for *Indologie* and 4 chairs for East-Asian *Philologie* at West German universities; in 1960, the *Wissenschaftsrat* (Science Council) recommended a broadening of Asian studies at the universities. Thus, by 1970 there existed 14 chairs for *Indologie*, 15 chairs for *Sinologie*, 6 chairs for *Japanologie*, and a chair each for East Asian languages, Central Asian Studies, and *Thaiistik*. These chairs were spread around all universities, which prevented the build-up of Asian research centers, contributed to the provincialization of Asian studies, and furthered the preoccupation with history, culture, and language. See Opitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff.

10. This survey was carried out by Otto Kimminich for the "Kommission zum Studium der Disziplin der Internationalen Beziehungen" of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkerrecht* (DGV). The figures are quoted from an abbreviated report in the *Berichte* of the DGV, which does not mention methodological considerations. The report in the *Berichte* (pp. 179-190) does, however, contain interesting comparative data from similar surveys in Austria and Switzerland.

11. Data on OSI-graduates through 1969 can be found in Dirk Hartung *et al.*, *Politologen im Beruf. Zur Aufnahme und Durchsetzung neuer Qualitikationen im Beschäftigungssystem* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1970), p. 231; the 1973 figure is taken from *Statistik 13*, FU Berlin: *Studenten WS 1973/74*.

12. Data according to Hartung, *op. cit.*, p. 230, and information supplied by the Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (DVPW), Hamburg. The diploma in political science is currently being offered only at the universities of Berlin, Munich, Marburg, and Hamburg; at all other universities students in political science prepare either for a career in high school teaching (finishing with what is called a *Staats-examen*) or for an academic career, in which case they conclude their studies with a doctorate. The study by Hartung *et al.* represents an examination of the employment patterns of OSI graduates (undertaken at a time, one should add, when the job market was not yet glutted with political scientists).

13. Hartung *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 232. During the same period of time the number of law students increased from 18,260 to 24,548!

14. Data from Lepsius, 1961 *Denkschrift*, p. 91; Kogon, "Die Lage der Politischen Wissenschaft," p. x; and a survey of teaching personnel in political science supplied by the *DVPW*, Hamburg.

15. According to E. O. Czempiel, "Research and Teaching Programmes on International Organization and European Integration in the Federal Republic of Germany," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, III, 2 (February 1965), p. 170.

16. The data are based on course catalogue listings of 36 universities offering courses in political science or the social sciences generally; the fact that at some universities the *Gesellschaftswissenschaften* may include psychology, history, and economics, while at others only sociology and political science are included, makes it difficult to determine the basic number of social science courses with a policy-relevant focus. The data in Table 2 include primarily courses taught in political science and sociology, some in current history, and some in economics. Drawing the line between "policy-relevant" (usually meaning a focus on current events) and "non-policy-relevant"--which, one might argue, is a questionable distinction to make to begin with--proved extremely difficult. It is for this reason that the figures must be considered as rough.

17. The intricacies and complexities of university reform in West Germany (which proceeded under the control of the *Länder* governments who pursued differing strategies) cannot be dealt with in any detail. For an in-depth report on efforts at one ancient university--Heidelberg--see Ekkehard Nuisl, Rolf Rendtorff, Wolff-Dietrich Webler, *Scheitert die Hochschulreform? Heidelberg zum Exempel* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1973); Rendtorff was *Rektor* of the university during its most difficult times.

18. The Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, which was conceived by professors and politicians, first planned to set up an institute for peace research. Advanced plans for such an institute had to be scrapped when leftist members of the Berlin university community made their opposition to what they termed a "private university" very evident. The WZB then followed alternative plans and set up an "International Institute of Management" instead.

19. The fact that many West German students have attended American universities may explain at least partially the lack of research and teaching interest in American affairs at German universities. Still, one may well wonder whether scattered personal experiences make up for concentrated research work.

20. Dieter Senghaas, in his introduction to a special issue of the *Journal of Peace Research* on peace research in Germany (2/1973), pointed out the turning away from American concepts to traditionally European ideas, with this conclusion: "In retrospect, being a latecomer has not been a disadvantage but indeed an asset for peace research in the FRG" p. 162.

21. According to a 1965 survey by sociologist Helmut Schelsky, among university professors, 54.5% of their time was spent on teaching duties, 22.6% on administrative tasks, 12% on consulting business, and only 11% on original research--or 7.6 hours of research a week as opposed to 61 hours for teaching and administration during the semester (presumably more research time was available during the five months of semester breaks). Quoted according to Ulrich Lohmar, *Wissenschaftsförderung und Politik-Beratung* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1967), p. 34.

22. For a critical review of the role of foundations in supporting research in general see Joachim Hirsch, *Wissenschaftlich-technischer Fortschritt und politisches System* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970), especially Part III.

23. For a more detailed description consult the official brochure *The German Research Society: Organization and Functions* (1971) as well as the annual *Jahresbericht*, which appears in two volumes: *Tätigkeitsbericht* and *Programme und Projekte*. Further information is contained in infrequent reports on *Aufgaben und Finanzierung* (the latest appeared in 1972) and in a periodical *Mitteilungen*.

24. Calculated from figures contained in *Schaubild 7*, pp. 28/29, of the 1973 *Tätigkeitsbericht*.

25. Additional funds go for hardware acquisition, library operations, and scientific international relations, altogether DM 42.2 million in 1973.

26. The fact that established professors receive *Sachbeihilfen* (which translates into "*material* support") tends to reflect their quasi-feudal position within the old German university system; after all, 60% of that material support goes to the support of (non-material) research assistants.

27. Individual research projects of interest for the purposes of this survey will be covered later under the work of institutes.

28. The DFG's consultants for this reformulation were Prof. Ziebura, Prof. Czempiel, and Prof. Kaiser.

29. The 1973 *Tätigkeitsbericht* reported on a symposium that was held between German and Mexican researchers in Puebla in February 1973: "The symposium formed the basis for considerations to continue the Mexico-Project with a stronger contemporary orientation." One might assume that the Mexicans, whose basic problems exist here and now, pressed for more socially relevant research by the German expedition (although this is not stated in the *Tätigkeitsbericht*, p. 163).

30. The DFG's 1973 *Tätigkeitsbericht* describes in some detail the difficulties it faced in having the SFB program financed, primarily because the Federal Budget was not passed in time to

enable the DFG to support its SFB's consistently. Furthermore, the lack of personnel to handle SFB matters led to a reduction in the number of SFB's approved and supported. The DFG's pique over these developments is quite evident in its annual reports.

31. Even such a strategy is not without its problems.

32. The three traditional regional SFB's are: 1. Orientalistik, with special emphasis on the religious history of the Near East (University of Göttingen); 2. a Near-East-Mapping Project with a historical emphasis (University of Tübingen); and 3. Orientalistik, emphasis on Central Asia (University of Bonn), a project aimed at gathering literary documents.

33. The first SFB to be terminated by the DFG was the SFB "Lateinamerika" at the University of Hamburg, which was unable to meet the DFG's stringent conditions. Other projected SFB's in the Latin American field at the universities of Bonn and Köln, at the Free University of Berlin, and at the University of Bielefeld were never approved by the DFG because of similar faults. For a survey of the difficulties faced by research on Latin America in Germany see the unpublished dissertation by Jan D. Beckmann, Die deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung im sozialen System der Wissenschaft (University of Bielefeld, 1974). Other regional SFB's that never made it were "North American studies" (JFK-Institut, Free University), "East Asian studies" (University of Bochum), and "development studies" (University of Freiburg).

34. University administrators in the Länder ministries of education are increasingly adamant about the faculty's fulfilling their teaching obligations, at a time when only few new positions are being opened up.

35. One of these, a center for survey research, is already operative at the University of Mannheim.

36. See Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, Bericht 1972 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), pp. 35 and 175 ff.

37. The VW Foundation was the first to pay attention to the need for developing international relations research in West Germany. For this purpose it set up, in 1968, a "working group for European studies" (with Karl Kaiser as consultant) which drew up an initial program for IR support. On the basis of this program the VW Foundation supported the activities of the Sektion Internationale Politik of the German Political Science Association and a large research project of the German Society for Foreign Affairs on "The foreign policy perspectives of the West German state" (eventually published in three volumes by Oldenbourg/München).

38. See 1972 Bericht, pp. 71/72.

39. The VW Stiftung has always had a strong interest in supporting foreign institutions, particularly in Great Britain and in the

United States, in both cases for primarily political reasons: the 1972 *Bericht* hints rather broadly (p. 19) that support for British institutions and projects on British-German relations was intended to influence the general British orientation toward Europe, while the Foundation's support of programs on European studies in the U.S. (Harvard and Indiana) clearly serves the goal of furthering German studies in the United States (and thus American orientations toward Germany).

40. This project has come to a conclusion with the publication of Max Kohnstamm *et al.*, *Zivilmacht Europa--Supermacht oder Partner?* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1973), published in English by Macmillan as *A Nation Writ Large?* Another VW Foundation supported project on problems of European unification is currently being carried out at the Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Forschung, University of Bielefeld. For a first publication of this project see E.-J.Mestmäcker and H. von der Groeben, *Ziele und Methoden der* europäischen Integration (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1973).

41. The Foundation insists that German researchers be included in projects carried out by foreign research institutes.

42. In August 1974 the VW Foundation announced grants to the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* for research on Japan's foreign and security policies, and to the Institut für Asienkunde for studies of "general trade houses" in Japan.

43. Cause for such worries initially came from the fact that the VW Foundation had previously ceased supporting the coordinating body for contemporary research on East Asia in Hamburg because it will not grant unlimited institutional support.

44. See 1972 *Bericht*, pp. 78 and 81. For a description of the *Schwerpunkt*, see *Merkblatt für Antragsteller* 4 (also reprinted in the Appendix to the 1972 *Bericht*).

45. The VW Foundation recently announced that it plans to set up a priority research program on "Causes and effects of labor migration in Europe," which is to include studies of causes and effects in non-European (sending) countries.

46. Pestel, who is acknowledged as a driving force behind the Club of Rome's analysis of the limits of growth, is one of the 14 members of the VW Foundation's decision-making *Kuratorium*. See M. Mesarovic and E. Pestel, *Menschheit am Wendepunkt* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1974).

47. More detailed information on this and other recently announced grants by the VW Stiftung can be found in irregular internal memoranda, *Informationen*.

48. A detailed account of the complete(d) research project can be found in the *Bericht der Fritz Thyssen Stiftung über ihre Tätigkeit im Jahre 1972* (Köln: August 1973). See also the project report by

the Ifo-Institut, Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik (Michael Bohnet, ed.: München: Weltforum Verlag, 1973), especially volume 2 with summaries of all individual reports.

49. See the 1972 Bericht, pp. 73-75, for more detailed information.

50. The Thyssen Foundation is re-thinking and re-structuring its activities. In the general area of the social sciences it is about to set up a priority research program under the general heading of "State, Economy, and Society." Within this program the Foundation intends to study problems of governing modern states, the role of philosophy in the development of states and societies, research on science, basic issues of religious thinking, and problems of mass media in modern democratic societies. These topics are to be pursued primarily by workshops, which will be composed of scholars from various countries.

51. The Krupp Foundation supported the publication of the DGAP's yearbooks Die Internationale Politik and provided some funds for a DGAP project on the role of international organizations in the resolution of energy-related conflicts. It is also involved in the publication of an encyclopedia of comparative law. The Krupp Foundation is, however, playing a strong role in funding West European studies in the United States (particularly at Harvard University).

52. See Karl Kaiser, Friedensforschung in der Bundesrepublik (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), originally a consultant report for the VW Foundation on theoretical and institutional problems of peace research in Germany. For another early survey of peace research in the Federal Republic see Claus Koch, Friedensforschung: Forschungsvorhaben--Institutionen--Planungen (Bonn: Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, 1970).

53. See Dieter Senghaas, Abschreckung und Frieden. Studien zur Kritik organisierter Friedlosigkeit (Frankfurt: EVA, 1969), in which he summarized his radical critique of prevailing deterrence doctrines.

54. See the DGFK Informationen for frequent reports on the DGFK's financial situation and political difficulties. These figures are quoted from the June 1973 issue, p. 4.

55. For 1973, the DGFK had originally projected an income of DM 5.3 million; eventually it received DM 3.8 million. In 1974 it received DM 3.2 million (2.5 million from the Bund, 500 000 from the Länder, 200 000 from the Churches); for 1975 the DGFK is aiming for subsidies of DM 3.4 million.

56. Erhard Forndran, a member of the DGFK's decision-making Forschungskommission, pointed out the desires of the policy-makers for more homogeneous, policy-relevant research support (see DGFK Informationen, June 1973, p. 19).

57. The West German peace research community was intimately involved in defining research priorities and research strategies on the basis of several surveys (by Gerda Zellentin for Schwerpunkt 1, and Dieter Senghaas and Hartmut Elsenhans for Schwerpunkt 2). The program is described in ibid., pp. 21/22.

58. The research work at the universities of Nijmegen, Bologna, and Aix-en-Provence is supervised by established German peace researchers--K. Tudyka, E. Krippendorff, and W. Ruf, respectively. More detailed information about the other research projects will be given later.

59. One of the DGFK's most important undertakings in the field of peace education is the establishment of the Carl-von-Ossietzky-Guest professorship for Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Bonn, which brings to Bonn well-known peace researchers from abroad for one semester of teaching.

60. An additional large-scale BSK-funded project at the HSFK deals with the development of curricula on problems of the Third World and armaments (project director: Dieter Senghaas). See BSK-Information, August 1973 and August 1974 for further information on the BSK's activities.

61. For a first publication of this study group see Durch Kooperation zum Frieden? Probleme gesamteuropäischer Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit (München: Hanser, 1974).

62. In FY 1973 the Bundestag voted itself DM 22.6 million, a good deal of which is spent on assistants, many of whom are social scientists (this apart from support for the Bundestag's Wissenschaftliche Dienste, which are at the service of the Bundestag as a whole, and its excellent library).

63. Subsidies to the parties' foundations are well hidden in the Federal Budget. The 1973 Budget lists only general support subsidies on the order of DM 10.86 million for FES, 9.76 million for KAS, 5.72 million for FNS, and 3.15 million for HSS. The total federal support for FES, however, amounted to roughly DM 45 million; for KAS, to DM 60 million (additional smaller sums come from the parties themselves and from other donors).

64. The HSS once set up an Institut für Internationale Beziehungen der Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung in Munich, which was soon dissolved, apparently because of financial difficulties.

65. All the figures given on the financial resources of the political foundations are based on oral communication and represent, in the case of FES, only rough estimates. Given the politically sensitive role played by these foundations, their reluctance in providing such information in their official brochures seems both understandable and regrettable. For an official description of FES's activities, see its Jahresbericht 1973 (Bonn/Bad Godesberg: 1974).

66. In the field of development studies FES publishes its own journal: *Vierteljahresberichte--Probleme der Entwicklungsländer*.

67. "Sozialwissenschaftliches Forschungsinstitut der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung," *Rhein-Sieg-Kreis* (1973), p. 183.

68. See *Bericht '73 der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* for a fuller description of the activities of its research institute (in which the KAS invests some 4.5 million marks per year). KAS also maintains an institute for communal sciences (Institut für Kommunalwissenschaften), which, among other work, carries out research on problems of foreign workers in the FRG. Most of the KAS funds go for adult education programs and for development aid administered by its Institut für Internationale Solidarität (which have some DM 39 million in funds provided by the *Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit*).

69. According to *Bundeshaushaltsplan 1973*, p. 2524 (which lists a total federal contribution to the DSE of DM 21.3 million).

70. The documentation center's thesaurus is developed in cooperation with the *Arbeitsgruppe Übersee-Dokumentation* at the Deutsches Übersee-Institut, Hamburg; it forms part of the German version of an OECD-sponsored macrothesaurus for development studies. The *Zentrale Dokumentation* also publishes a number of helpful materials, in particular an annual survey *Entwicklungsländer-Studien*, which lists development research projects carried out in West Germany. For a full description of the DSE/ZD's activities see "Tasks, Working Methods and Information Services of the Documentation Center of the German Foundation for International Development" (Bonn, 1974).

71. For a brief review of the development of the DVPW, see Kogon, "Die Lage der Politischen Wissenschaft," *op. cit*.

72. In 1969, the *Sektion* gave itself By-Laws which enable it to approach foundations for support. At the present time the *Sektion* has some 120 regular members (who are also DVPW members), and about 110 "guests" (i.e. persons interested in the research work of the *Sektion* who are not DVPW members, including non-Germans).

73. From the introduction by Klaus Jürgen Gantzel, editor of *Internationale Beziehungen als System, Sonderheft* 5 of *PVS* (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1973). This publication reported on one part of a larger VW-Foundation supported project on "Figuration and evolution of international systems." Another, rigorously mathematically oriented part focused on "Interactions in the international systems"; its individual papers, dealing with formal model building and computer simulations, were published in *PVS*, 3-4/1974.

74. To provide a detailed list of individual articles would be beyond the scope of this survey; it can fairly be stated, however, that a good portion of the articles stem from either finished dissertations or from dissertations in progress.

75. Elsenhans's dissertation on France and the Algerian conflict recently appeared in print: it is almost 1000 pages long. Elsenhans (currently an assistant professor at the Free University), in addition to the work done for the *Sektion*, has also published a book on the politics of oil (resulting from a Free University seminar), and is intimately involved in the DGFK's research priority formulations on development studies.

76. This volume contains some contributions by foreign scholars, such as K. W. Deutsch and J. Galtung, both of whom have influenced German political science more than anyone else.

77. This working group, under the chairmanship of E. Jahn, HSFK, aims to make an analysis of the social structures of socialist countries; it is, strictly speaking, not a working group of the *Sektion*, but rather one of the DVPW.

78. Members of this working group, under the chairmanship of V. Rittberger (University of Tübingen), have so far been unable to agree whether their research project is to be centered on the European Community's foreign relations or on an analysis of possibilities of revising the international division of labor.

79. A detailed research proposal was written by Hartmut Elsenhans. All of the information on the *Sektion*'s activities is taken from either the DVPW's periodic *Rundbriefe*, or from newsletters by the *Sektion*'s project director, K. J. Gantzel.

80. See Gerd Junne, *Spieltheorie in der internationalen Politik. Die beschränkte Rationalität strategischen Denkens* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1972), and the unpublished dissertation by Salua Nour, *Systematische Analyse der Hauptströmungen in der Theorie der Internationalen Beziehungen* (Free University, Berlin, 1971).

81. "Bestimmungsfaktoren der Aussenpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Forschungsstrategie und -programm eines Sonderforschungsbereichs" (G. Ziebura, F. Ansprenger, G. Kiersch, eds.), Freie Universität Berlin, FB 15, March 1974.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 10. Due apologies must be made for this (and other) translations, which reflect the German authors' difficult, if not at times unintelligible use of language.

83. See pp. 88-96 for a brief description of the inadequacies of American scholarship and the aimed-for improvements by German scholarship (under the influence of Latin American and French approaches).

84. According to a "Kommentiertes Vorlesungsverzeichnis Politologie WS 1974/75" published by the *Abteilung Politische Wissenschaft*. The University of Hamburg, along with most West German universities, has a restricted admissions policy for students wishing to study political science (among whom some 70% want to become high school teachers).

85. The Bundeswehr's universities in Hamburg and Munich were recently founded in order to enable the Bundeswehr to offer its junior officers a program of higher education. The curricula for these universities were partly developed by the Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr, which conducts basic and applied research into problems affecting West Germany's armed forces.

86. See "25 Jahre Forschungsstelle für Völkerrecht und auslandisches offentliches Recht" (the Institut's name until 1973), Hamburg, 1971. The one (of 7) position for "foreign policy" is currently vacated. For the activities of another primarily international law oriented research institute see Institut für internationales Recht an der Universität Kiel, "Tätigkeitsbericht 1967-1972" (Kiel 1973), which does, however, have a strong interest in peace research and arms control questions from the point of view of international law.

87. The fact that SWP studies are not made available to the public at large reflects a deliberate choice on the part of the SWP, which seeks to make an impact on public policy not through widespread publicity but rather through a carefully conducted dialogue with governmental leaders and bureaucratic planning staffs. Individual members of the SWP's research staff are, of course, free to publish work based on their activities at the SWP, and many of them do.

88. The last yearbook published was Die Internationale Politik 1968/1969, Karl Carstens et al., eds. (München: Oldenbourg, 1974).

89. See Reinhard Lohrmann and Klaus Manfrass (eds.), Ausländerbeschäftigung und internationale Politik (München: Oldenbourg, 1974). This particular project--which, like most DGAP projects, is based on contributions by outside experts--was supported by the Ford Foundation.

90. See Ulrich Scheuner and Beate Lindemann (eds.), Die Vereinten Nationen und die Mitarbeit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (München: Oldenbourg, 1973).

91. The DGAP's building in Bonn (which has room for guest scholars) was acquired with the help of a large grant from the VW-Foundation.

92. The future well-being of the HSFK may well depend on political conditions in Hessen--a CDU-led state government might be reluctant to continue the Land's support.

93. "Hessen Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research," January 1974, p. 1.

94. For detailed descriptions of these projects see "Program of the Hessen Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research," June 1972, and HSFK, Mitteilungen Nr. 4, April 1972.

95. See HSFK, Mitteilungen Nr. 5, October 1973, for project progress reports.

96. In April 1973, the HSFK held a conference on military-industrial complexes, papers of which have been published in Leviathan and PVS, among others. For the opening rounds of the CSCE and MBFR negotiations Senghaas and co-workers published proposals for arms reduction policies (see J. Galtung and D. Senghaas, eds., Kann Europa abrüsten? München: Hanser, 1973, and D. Senghass et al., "MBFR: Aufrüstung durch Rüstungskontrolle?" HSFK paper No. 1, January 1973). HSFK members were also involved in the Anti-Weissbuch (which received widespread public attention because of its criticism of the proposed MRCA procurement).

97. The AFK, a loose organization of West Germany's peace research community, has itself regularly published its annual conference proceedings, Jahrbuch für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (which, in 1973, dealt with problems of East-West cooperation, in 1974, with problems of development politics); they are published in Düsseldorf by Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag.

98. Quoted from the advertisement for the editor. See also the HSFK's "Zur Konzeption einer Zeitschrift . . .," April 1974. The periodical will be published by Suhrkamp (Frankfurt) under the title Friedensanalysen. Für Theorie und Praxis in one of its book series, thus assuring the new periodical a potentially large audience.

99. See Erhard Rosenkranz/Rüdiger Jutte, Abschreckung contra Sicherheit? (München: Piper, 1974).

100. See Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker (ed.), Kriegsfolgen und Kriegsverhütung (München: Hanser, 1971), and H. Afheldt et al., Durch Kriegsverhütung zum Krieg? (München: Hanser, 1972). See also Eine andere Verteidigung? Alternativen zur atomaren Abschreckung (München: Hanser, 1973).

101. See Welternährungskrise oder Ist eine Hungerkatastrophe unausweichlich? (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1968).

102. The first result of the work of this study group was Durch Kooperation zum Frieden? (München: Hanser, 1974).

103. The combined study group on European and military politics has begun, on an experimental basis so far, to publish a documentary newsletter on "Militärpolitik," which contains xeroxed copies of the tables of content of military journals; the Forschungsstelle makes available complete articles on request.

104. With apologies for the translation quoted from VDW-Informationen 1973, p. 66.

105. Another project initiated by this study group deals with "Research on developing countries in the Federal Republic." For a first report from this research group, see Norman Paech et al., "Entwicklungsländerforschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" Internationales Asienforum, III, 3 (July 1972), pp. 369-383. Finally, this study group--the VDW being the German correspondent of the

Pugwash Movement--is currently organizing a Pugwash symposium on "Transfer of Technology Related to the Transfer of Weapon Systems and Arms Production in Developing Countries" (to be held in late 1975).

106. The small group of researchers interested in civilian defense and non-violent action publishes its own periodical, *Gewaltfreie Aktion* (edited by T. Ebert).

107. See Detlev Albers *et al.*, *Klassenkämpfe in Westeuropa* (Reinbik: Rowohlt, 1971).

108. Actual research work is carried out at the *Sozialwissenschaftliches Seminar* of the Technical University, Hannover (Prof. H. Kern, project director and study group chairman). Other VDW study groups deal with problems of pharmaceutical supplies in a capitalist market system, with problems of the elderly, and with research planning in West Germany.

109. Quoted from the brochure "Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft Heidelberg FEST," p. 5. FEST has 12 research fellows permanently working in its offices in Heidelberg; many of them have a theological background, some are social scientists and natural scientists. Apart from peace research, FEST also does research work on theological issues in the natural sciences, law, and philosophy; one research commission publishes studies on Marxism.

110. As part of its literature collection efforts, FEST publishes bibliographies of peace research. See G. Scharffenorth and W. Huber, *Bibliographie zur Friedensforschung* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1970), and, by the same editors, *Neue Bibliographie zur Friedensforschung* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1973).

The Catholic Church in Germany, for reasons which might deserve further examination, does not support a peace-research oriented institute of its own; the German sections of JUSTITIA ET PAX and PAX CHRISTI were at one time planning to set up such an institute, but current efforts have not gone beyond the establishment of a working group on peace and development (*Katholischer Arbeitskreis Entwicklung und Frieden*), which is currently preparing a 7 volume study (under the direction of Profs. Czempiel and Ansprenger).

111. In addition to its bibliography, the *Forschungsstelle*, in cooperation with outside scholars, is currently preparing a Handbook of the United Nations. For a--not quite complete--survey of the sparse research and teaching activities on the UN in West Germany see W. Skupnik, "Die 'Vereinten Nationen' als Forschungsgegenstand in der Bundesrepublik," an unpublished paper prepared for the Sektion's working group on international organizations.

112. For more detailed information on the HWWA-Institut see its annual *Tätigkeitsberichte* and its lists of "Abgeschlossene Arbeiten."

Similar information is available from the Institut für Weltwirtschaft in Kiel.

113. For a survey of research on multinational corporations see "Zusammenfassung der Forschungsprojekte über Multinationale Konzerne," unpublished paper for the *Sektion*'s working group on multinational corporations (February 1974).

114. See Ernst Piehl, *Multinationale Konzerne und internationale Gewerkschaftsbewegung* (Frankfurt: EVA, 1974). For a more detailed description of the WSI (which employs 28 researchers) see its *Tätigkeitsbericht 1969-1971*.

115. From the IDW's fancily laid out brochure *Roter Faden durch das Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft* (1974) one can gather that a goodly portion of its 70 scientific personnel are engaged in publishing rather than in research enterprises. Another industry-supported organization that sponsors occasional research work is the *Arbeitsring Ausland für kulturelle Aufgaben*, the main task of which is to further the Federal Republic's cultural work abroad in order to create political climates beneficial to German industry. Most recently the *Arbeitsring* has commissioned studies of foreign workers in West Germany.

116. The IM's detailed description of "Current Research and Publications" (January 1974) lists several individual studies which fall into these research programs; of particular interest for our purposes are studies of multinational corporations and of foreign workers.

117. Of course the Federal Republic has spent great sums of money for comparative research on the common problems of industrial societies to be carried out in the United States and Great Britain. There is the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and the Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Societies (which was set up on the occasion of President Heinemann's visit to London in 1971 through a DM 15 million grant to the United Kingdom).

118. The Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk (Bonn) has occasionally commissioned studies of youth in France and Germany.

119. The *Gesellschaft* also publishes a French version, *Documents*, which is appropriately subtitled "Revue des questions allemandes."

120. Prof. K. von Beyme, formerly of Tübingen, now at the University of Heidelberg, has himself written prolifically on comparative government (including European political systems) and continues to interest *Doktoranden* in this field.

121. A research project on "Co-determination in European industries" is being carried out at the University of Münster's Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften.

122. "Social movements and trade union structures in Western Europe" are being analyzed by a research group at the Institut für Sozialforschung in Frankfurt.

123. In addition to research projects previously mentioned, it should be pointed out that individual Doktoranden and Habilitanden are working on European political issues; at the University of Marburg a research group under the direction of A. Statz is working on European Community problems.

124. The historical department, in close cooperation with British historians, is engaged in a long-term project concerning the historical development of Europe; the linguistic department, strongly oriented toward the Romanistic languages, is studying the development of language patterns in Europe.

125. The coordination of research work in the area of European studies is also the goal of the Arbeitskreis Europaische Integration, which is sponsored by the West German liaison office of the European Community. For the results of one such cooperative effort with the HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung see K. Kohler and H.-E. Scharrer (eds.), Die Europäische Gemeinschaft in der Krise. Ursache und Lösungsansätze (Hamburg: Verlag Weltarchiv, 1974).

126. This question is currently being investigated by a research group at the VDW's Forschungsstelle.

127. IAFEF, the "interdisciplinary working group for research on developing countries," was founded in 1967 under the initiative of BMZ and DSE (ministry and foundation for development aid); its rotating office is currently at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn.

128. Andreas Bodenstedt, "Die entwicklungpolitische Forschung in der BRD," IAFEF-Texte, December 1972, p. 10.

129. Ibid., p. 23.

130. Ibid., p. 25. The number of reports on Latin American affairs increased from 14% in 1961 to 23% in 1970, while general development studies decreased from 24% in 1962 to 15% in 1970.

131. See Paech et al., "Entwicklungsländerforschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," p. 382. Paech and his co-workers from the VDW's Forschungsstelle point out that the BMZ expends only DM 4.5 million a year on development studies in general, but more than DM 60 million on resource research.

132. The fact that these institutes are closely identified with West German business interests is the basis for charges that much development research is of an imperialistic nature. See Paech et al. for such charges.

133. Quoted from the brochure "Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)," August 1973, p. 5. For further information see also the DIE's publication lists and its brochure on training programs.

134. Quoted--with appreciation--from ABI's English-language brochure (Freiburg 1973), p. 5.

135. The ABI publishes its research in three different series, Ordo Politicus, Studien zur Entwicklung und Politik, and Materialien zur Entwicklung und Politik. For a complete list of ABI's publishing program see its brochure.

136. Quoted from the Jahrbuch der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 1973, p. 487, from which all of the following information is also taken.

137. The institutes at Bochum and Aachen have combined their efforts in the publication of a Handbuch der Entwicklungshilfe (published by Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden), which--in loose-leaf format--claims to be "the standard work for economic cooperation."

138. See the FIA's 1972 brochure, which lists the FIA's activities in three languages; the following quotations are taken from p. 6.

139. Research on cooperative enterprises is also carried out at the Institut für Genossenschaftswesen in Entwicklungsländern of the University of Marburg, and the Institut für Genossenschaftswesen of the University of Münster.

140. The MPIL takes its commitment to critical development research very seriously: a correspondent refused all information about the MPIL's activities in this field, unless it could be guaranteed that this information would be made available in all underdeveloped countries. Such a guarantee being impossible, this information is based on an MPIL April 1974 report of its activities.

141. Apart from the Sektion, there exists an Arbeitskreis Entwicklungspolitik und Entwicklungstheorie within the DVWP; this working group does not have research projects of its own; its meetings discuss papers dealing with the issue of endogenous versus exogenous factors of underdevelopment.

142. Jahresbericht 1973 of the Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde, Hamburg, p. 1.

143. The Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-Institut (which has an annual budget of some DM 3 million, less than 2 million of which is provided by the City of Hamburg), cooperates closely with the HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (which is located in the same building). For more detailed information on the DUI's structure and activities see its 1974 brochure and the quarterly Mitteilungen.

144. Another federally-financed research institute which does occasional research on Communist China is the Bundesinstitut für ostwissenschaftliche und Internale Studien in Köln; it also investigates Soviet foreign policy toward Asian countries.

145. Fritz Opitz, Die Ostasienforschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1971), p. 5. John Peter Neelsen, in his article on "Asienforschung in der Bundesrepublik"

(*Internationales Europaforum*, 3/1969), reaches a similar conclusion, based on a count of university courses on Asia taught in 1969: 45 were historical, 41 political, 38 geographical, 36 dealt with art, 29 were ethnological, 18 legal, 16 theological, 10 sociological, 3 economical, 2 psychological, and 1 agricultural (p. 236).

146. In addition to the VW Foundation, the Ford Foundation has been instrumental in getting Asian studies programs started. The effectiveness of the Ford Foundation's Asian studies program in West Germany is being evaluated by W. Draguhn, director of the Institut für Asienkunde, Hamburg.

147. A recent survey of *Orientstudien*, "Gegenwartsbezogene Orientwissenschaft in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" (prepared for the VW Foundation) by the director of the DOI, R. Buren, lists [illegible] institutes and institutions.

148. Research on Turkey is also carried out by institutes working on Southeast European countries, particularly at the *Seminar für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Südosteuropas* of the University of Munich. For a description of activities in the Southeast European area (mostly not contemporary social science research, however), see "Ergebnisse und Pläne der Südosteuropa-Forschung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Südosteuropa-Studien* (München: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1972). Southeast European studies are predominant in the Munich area because of the *Land* Bavaria's historical connections with this particular area of the world.

149. AGVO (which, like the other regional coordinating associations, publishes a regular newsletter) decided in early 1974 that the DOI should become *the* German research center for the modern Orient; it also asked the DOI to prepare the publication of a monthly periodical about current developments in the Near and Middle East (similar to *CHINA aktuell*). The only other large-scale research program on the modern Middle East is the VW-funded Institut für Islamwissenschaft (FU Berlin) project on "Syria in the 19th and 20th Century."

150. *Institutionen der Afrika-Arbeit in der Bundesrepublik*, published by the *Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung*, Hamburg (1971).

151. See Heidrun Henze, "Afrikakundliche Lehrveranstaltungen an Universitäten und Hochschulen der Bundesrepublik," *Afrika Spectrum*, 2/1972, pp. 92-93. For an earlier survey see also Michael Koll, "Organisationsformen sozialwissenschaftlicher Afrikaforschung in der Bundesrepublik," *Internationales Europaforum*, 3/1969, p. 231.

152. For a list of the publishing activities of the five institutes incorporated in the Stiftung Deutsche Übersee Institute see the DUI's 1974 brochure and the annual *Tätigkeitsberichte* of the individual institutes.

153. The DIAF is cooperating closely with the Afrika-Verein (the German Africa Association), an association representing West German commercial interests in Africa.

154. Questions of colonialism, particularly in Portuguese territories, are also being investigated at the Soziologisches Institut of the Free University (Prof. G. Grohs).

155. J. Beckmann, in his dissertation on Lateinamerikaforschung, shows that more projects dealt with ethnology (195), literature (118), and geography (157) and geology (131) than with politics (158), economics (122), and sociology (94), among others (based on 1970 information, see p. 113).

156. Elisabeth Siefer, Neuere deutsche Lateinamerika-Forschung (Schriften der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung ADLAF No. 2, Hamburg: Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde, 1971), lists 122 institutes and institutions. For a self-critical review of Latin American-focused research see also H. A. Steger, "Stand und Tendenzen der gegenwartsbezogenen Lateinamerikaforschung in der BRD," in ADLAF Informationsdienst, January 1973.

157. Research on economic problems of the Latin American region is also carried out at the Ibero-Amerika-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung of the University of Göttingen.

158. Latin American Sonderforschungsbereiche appear to have had a particularly difficult time, especially if one considers also the premature demise of the SFB at the University of Hamburg.

APPENDIX

Institutions Mentioned in This Report

Abteilung für Ostasienwissenschaften
der Universität Bochum
4600 Bochum
Universitatsgebäude 6-C
Afrika-Studienstelle des Ifo-Instituts
für Wirtschaftsforschung
8000 München 86
Poschingerstrasse 5
Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und
Halbach-Stiftung
43 Essen-Bredeney
Hugel 14
Allgemeines Ubersee Institut
see: Stiftung Deutsches Übersee
Institut
200 Hamburg 36
Neuer Jungfernstieg 21
Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutsche
Lateinamerikaforschung
2000 Hamburg 36
Alsterglacis 8
Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Friedens-
und Konfliktforschung
7400 Tübingen
Brunnenstrasse 30
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vorderer
Orient für gegenwartsbezogene
Forschung und Dokumentation
2000 Hamburg 13
Mittelweg 150
Arbeitsgruppe Übersee-
Dokumentation
see: Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-
Institut
2 Hamburg 36
Neuer Jungfernstieg 21
Arbeitskreis der deutschen Afrika-
Forschungs- und Dokumen-
tationsstellen
2000 Hamburg 1
Klosterwall 4
Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration
53 Bonn
Zitelmannstrasse 22
Arbeitskreis für gegenwartsbezogene
Forschung und Dokumentation
über den Süd- und Ost-asiatischen
Raum
2000 Hamburg 13
Rothenbaumchaussee 32
Arbeitsring Ausland für kulturelle
Aufgaben
5 Köln
Kaiser-Wilhelm-Ring 3-5
Arbeitsstelle "Politik Afrikas" der
Freien Universität Berlin
1000 Berlin 33
Kiebitzweg 7
Arbeitsstelle "Politik Chinas und
Ostasiens" der Freien Universitat
Berlin
1000 Berlin 33
Kiebitzweg 7
Arnold-Bergstrasser-Institut
78 Freiburg
Erbprinzstrasse 11
Auswärtiges Amt
53 Bonn
Adenauerallee 99-103
Berghof Stiftung fur Konfliktforschung
8000 München 40
Wilhelmstrasse 6/E. 1.
Bildungswerk Europäische Politik
see: Institut für europäische Politik
Bundesinstitut fur ostwissenschaftliche
und internationale Studien
5000 Köln (Ehrenfeld)
Lindenbornstrasse 22
Bundesministerium für Bildung und
Wissenschaft
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Stresemannstrasse 2
Bundesministerium für Forschung
und Technologie
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Stresemannstrasse 2
Bundesministerium für wirtschaft-
liche Zusammenarbeit
53 Bonn
Kaiserstrasse 185-201

Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1
Kennedyallee 40
Sonderforschungsbereiche:
"Development policy and development research" see: Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik, Bochum
"International Economic Relations" see: Universität Hamburg
Universität Kiel
HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
Institut für Weltwirtschaft
"Lateinamerika"
see: Universität Hamburg
"Near-East Mapping Project"
see: Universität Tübingen
"Orientalistik - Central Asia"
see: Universität Bonn
"Orientalistik - Religious History of the Near East"
see: Universitat Göttingen
"Research on Scandinavia and Baltic Sea Areas"
see: Universität Kiel
"Research on South Asia"
see: Sudasien Institut
"Research on Southeast Europe"
see: Universität München
"The Soviet Union and Her Sphere of Influence since 1917: Industrialization and Society in the Soviet Union" see: Osteuropa-Institut, Freie Universitat Berlin
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswartige Politik
see also: Forschungsinstitut
53 Bonn
Adenauerallee 133
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Friedensforschung
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Theaterplatz 28
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostasienkunde
2000 Hamburg 13
Rothenbaumchaussee 32
Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung
2000 Hamburg 1
Klosterwall 4
Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik
1000 Berlin 10
Frauenhoferstrasse 33-36
Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
1000 Berlin 33
Königin-Luise-Strasse 5
Deutsches Orient-Institut
2000 Hamburg 13
Mittelweg 150
Deutsche Stiftung für Entwicklungsländer
see: Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung
Deutsche Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung
see also: Zentrale Dokumentation
1000 Berlin 30
Rauchstrasse 22
Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft
2000 Hamburg 13
Von-Melle-Park 15
Deutsch-Französisches Institut
7140 Ludwigsburg
Asperger Strasse 34
Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk
5340 Bad Honnef
Rhöndorfer Strasse 23
Europa-Institut der Universitat Mannheim
6800 Mannheim
Schloss
Europa-Institut der Universitat des Saarlandes
6600 Saarbrücken 15
Universität
Bau 9
Fachrichtung Ostasien, Forschungsbereich 11 der Freien Universität Berlin
1000 Berlin 33
Podbielskiallee 42

Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen
Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik
53 Bonn
Adenauerallee 133
Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
5300 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Kölner Strasse 149
Forschungsinstitut für internationale
Politik und Sicherheit der Stiftung
Wissenschaft und Politik
8026 Ebenhausen/Isartal
Haus Eggenberg
Forschungsinstitut für internationale
technischwirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit der Technischen Hochschule
Aachen
5100 Aachen
Vereinsstrasse 3-5
Forschungsinstitut für politische
Wissenschaft und europäische
Fragen der Universität Köln
5000 Köln 41 (Lindenthal)
Gottfried-Keller-Strasse 6
Forschungsschwerpunkt Lateinamerika der Universität Bielefeld
4800 Bielefeld
Eckendorfer Strasse 36
Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen
Studiengemeinschaft
6900 Heidelberg
Schmeilweg 5
Forschungsstelle der Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Vereinten Nationen
1000 Berlin 33
Bismarckplatz 1
Forschungsstelle der Vereinigung
Deutscher Wissenschaftler
2000 Hamburg
Binderstrasse 24
Forschungsstelle für internationale
Agrarentwicklung
6900 Heidelberg 1
Kurfürstenanlage 59
Forschungsstelle für Völkerrecht und
ausländisches öffentliches Recht
der Universität Hamburg
see: Institut für Internationale
Angelegenheiten der Universität
Hamburg
Forschungsstelle für wirtschaftspolitische Planungsverfahren
7400 Tübingen
Mohlstrasse 36
Fraunhofer Gesellschaft
8000 München 19
Romanstrasse 13
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
see also: Forschungsinstitut
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1
Kölner Strasse 149
Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung
53 Bonn
Bonner Talweg 57
Fritz Thyssen Stiftung
5000 Köln 1
Postfach 180 346
Am Römerturm 3
German Political Science Association
see: Deutsche Vereinigung für
Politische Wissenschaft
German Society for Foreign Affairs
see: Deutsche Gesellschaft für
Auswärtige Politik
Geschwister-Scholl-Institut für
politische Wissenschaft
8000 München 22
Ludwigstrasse 10
Gesellschaft für übernationale
Zusammenarbeit
5000 Köln 1
Hohenstaufenring
Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung
8000 München 19
Lazarettstrasse 19
Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und
Konfliktforschung
6000 Frankfurt 1
Leimenrode 29
Hochschule der Bundeswehr
2000 Hamburg 70
Holstenhofweg 85
HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
2000 Hamburg 36
Neuer Jungfernstieg 21

Ibero-Amerika-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung der Universität Göttingen
3400 Göttingen
Gosslerstrasse 1 b
Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
8000 München 86
Poschingerstrasse 5
Informationszentrum für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung
5300 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Plittersdorfer Strasse 21
Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft
5000 Köln 51
Oberlander Ufer 84-88
Institut für allgemeine Überseeforschung
see: Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-Institut
Institut für angewandte Sozialforschung der Universität zu Köln
5000 Köln 41
Berrenrather Strasse 138 (Prof. R. Mayntz) and Lindenburger Allee 15 (Prof. E.K. Scheuch)
Institut für Asienkunde
1000 Hamburg 13
Rothenbaumchaussee 32
Institut für das Recht der europäischen Gemeinschaften
5000 Köln 41 (Lindenthal)
Gottfried-Keller-Strasse 2
Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik der Universität Bochum
4630 Bochum-Querenburg
Overbergstrasse 15
Postfach 2148
Institut für Europäische Politik
53 Bonn
Stockenstrasse 1-5
Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg
2000 Hamburg 55
Falkenstein 1
Institut für Genossenschaftswesen der Universität Münster
4400 Münster
Am Stadtgraben 9
Institut für Genossenschaftswesen in Entwicklungsländern der Universität Marburg
3550 Marburg/Lahn
Am Plan 2
Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde
2000 Hamburg 36
Alsterglacis 8
Institut für internationale Angelegenheiten der Universität Hamburg
2000 Hamburg 13
Mittelweg 186
Institut für internationale Solidarität der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
53 Bonn
Platanenweg 39
Institut für internationales Recht an der Universität Kiel
2300 Kiel
Olshausenstrasse 40-60
Institut für internationales und ausländisches Privatrecht
5000 Köln 41
Gottfried-Keller-Strasse 2
Institut für Islamwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft, Freie Universität
1000 Berlin 33
Boltzmannstrasse 4
Institut für Kommunalwissenschaften der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
5047 Wesseling/Eichholz
Postfach
Institut für Ostrecht
5000 Köln 1
Ubierring 53
Institut für Reaktorentwicklung, Kernforschungsanlage Jülich
5170 Jülich
Postfach 365
Institut für Sozialforschung an der Universität Frankfurt
6000 Frankfurt
Senckenberganlage 26

Institut fur Sozialwissenschaften
6800 Mannheim
Universität Mannheim
A5
Institut für Systemtechnik und Innovationsforschung der Fraunhofer Gesellschaft
7500 Karlsruhe-Waldstadt
Breslauer Strasse 48
Institut für vergleichende Sozialforschung
see: Institut für angewandte Sozialforschung
Institut für Völkerrecht und ausländisches öffentliches Recht
5000 Köln 41
Gottfried-Keller-Strasse 2
Institut für Weltwirtschaft an der Universität Kiel
2300 Kiel
Dusternbrooker Weg
Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften
4400 Munster
Kleimannstrasse 5
Interdisziplinarer Arbeitskreis für Entwicklungsländerforschung
Offices located at: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Internationales Institut fur Management und Verwaltung
1000 Berlin 33
Griegstrasse 5
Internationales Institut für vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung
see: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
International Institute of Management
see: Internationales Institut für Management und Verwaltung
John F. Kennedy Institut für Nordamerikastudien, Freie Universität
1000 Berlin 33
Lanzstrasse 59
Justitia et Pax
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg
Hochkreuzallee 246
Katholischer Arbeitskreis Entwicklung und Frieden
4020 Mettmann
Magdeburger Strasse 3
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
53 Bonn
Adenauerallee 132 a
Krupp Foundation
see: Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach-Stiftung
Lateinamerika-Institut, Zentralinstitut 3 der Freien Universitat Berlin
1000 Berlin 33
Breitenbachplatz 2
Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften
8000 Munchen 1
Postfach 647
Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung der Lebensbedingungen der wissenschaftlich-technischen Welt
8130 Starnberg
Riemerschmidstrasse 7
Osteuropa-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin
1000 Berlin 33
Garystrasse 55
Otto-Suhr-Institut der Freien Universitat Berlin
see: Freie Universität Berlin, Fachbereich 15
1000 Berlin 33
Ihnestrasse 21
PAX CHRISTI
4020 Mettmann
Magdeburger Strasse 3
Sektion internationale Politik der deutschen Vereinigung für politische Wissenschaft
Sektionsleiter: Prof. Dr. Peter Seibt
28 Bremen
Hartlaubstrasse 25

Seminar für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Südosteuropas, Universität München
8000 München 40
Akademiestrasse 1
Sozialpsychologische Forschungsstelle für Entwicklungsplanung an der Universität des Saarlandes
66 Saarbrücken 11
Sozialwissenschaftliches Forschungsinstitut der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
5305 Alfter/Bonn
Burg Alfter
Sozialwissenschaftliches Institut der Bundeswehr
8000 München 45
Schleissheimer Strasse 418
Sozialwissenschaftliches Seminar der Technischen Universität Hannover
3000 Hannover
Wunstorfer Strasse 14
Stiftung Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte-Weltkriegsbücherei
7000 Stuttgart
Konrad-Adenauer-Strasse 8
Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-Institut
2000 Hamburg 36
Neuer Jungfernstieg 21
Stiftung Volkswagenwerk
3000 Hannover 26
Postfach 260 509
Kastanienallee 35
Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
see also: Forschungsinstitut
8026 Ebenhausen/Isartal
Haus Eggenberg
Stifterverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft
4300 Essen 1
Postfach 360
Sudasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg
6900 Heidelberg
Im Neuenheimer Feld 13
Thyssen Stiftung
see: Fritz Thyssen Stiftung
Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler
see also: Forschungsstelle
2000 Hamburg
Binderstrasse 24
VW Stiftung
see: Stiftung Volkswagenwerk
Wirtschafts- und sozialwissenschaftliches Institut des deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes
4000 Düsseldorf
Hans-Bockler-Strasse 39
Wissenschaftsrat
5000 Köln 51
Marienburger Strasse 8
Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
1000 Berlin 41
Lepsiusstrasse 103
Zentrale Dokumentation der deutschen Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung
53 Bonn
Endenicher Strasse 41
Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen
6800 Mannheim
Schloss

Universities

Aachen - Technische Universität Aachen
Berlin - Freie Universität Berlin
Fachbereich 15
1000 Berlin 33
Ihnestrasse 21
Bielefeld
Bochum
Bonn
Bremen
Darmstadt
Erlangen-Nürnberg
Frankfurt
Freiburg
Göttingen
Hamburg
Hannover - Technische Universitat Hannover

Heidelberg
Kassel
Kiel
Koln
Konstanz
Mannheim
Marburg
Munchen
Munster
Saarbrucken - Universitat des Saarlandes
Tübingen
Wuppertal

List of Abbreviations

ABI	Arnold-Bergstrasser-Institut
ADLAF	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerika forschung
AFK	Arbeitsgemeinschaft fur Friedens und Konfliktforschung
AGVO	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Vorderer Orient für gegenwartsbezogene Forschung und Dokumentation
APA	Arbeitsstelle Politik Afrikas
APSA	American Political Science Association
BMBW	Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft
BMFT	Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technologie
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit
BSK	Berghof Stiftung für Konfliktforschung
CLACSO	Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales
DFG	Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
DGAP	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Auswärtige Politik
DGFK	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung
DGV	Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Volkerrecht
DIAF	Deutsches Institut für Afrikaforschung
DIE	Deutsches Institut fur Entwicklungspolitik
DIW	Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
DOI	Deutsches Orient-Institut
DSE	Deutsche Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung
DSE/ZD	DSE Zentrale Dokumentation
DUI	Stiftung Deutsches Übersee-Institut
DVPW	Deutsche Vereinigung fur Politische Wissenschaft
FB	Fachbereich
FEE	Sozialpsychologische Forschungsstelle für Entwicklungsplanung an der Universität des Saarlandes
FES	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
FEST	Forschungsstatte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft
FGS	Forschungsgebietsschwerpunkt
FIA	Forschungsstelle für internationale Agrarentwicklung
FNS	Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung
FU	Freie Universität Berlin
HSFK	Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung
HSS	Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung
HWWA	HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
IA	Institut für Asienkunde
IAFEF	Interdisziplinärer Arbeitskreis für Entwicklungsländerforschung

IAU	Institut für Allgemeine Überseeforschung
IDW	Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft
IEE	Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik
IFSH	Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universität Hamburg
IIAK	Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde
IIM	Internationales Institut für Management und Verwaltung
IIVG	Internationales Institut für vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung
ILDIS	Instituto Latinamericano de Investigaciones Sociales
IR	International Relations
IW	Institut für Weltwirtschaft
IZ	Informationszentrum für sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung
KAS	Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
LAI	Lateinamerika-Institut, Freie Universität Berlin
MPIL	Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung der Lebensbedingungen der wissenschaftlich-technischen Welt
OSI	Otto-Suhr-Institut
PVS	Politische Vierteljahresschrift
SAI	Südasien Institut
SFB	Sonderforschungsbereich of the DFG
SFK	Sozialwissenschaftliches Forschungsinstitut der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
SWP	Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik
VDW	Vereinigung Deutscher Wissenschaftler
WSI	Wirtschafts- und sozialwissenschaftliches Institut des deutschen Gewerkschaftsbundes
WZB	Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin

SWEDEN

INTRODUCTION

In Sweden international studies have traditionally been an important field for academic research and training. Sweden's ambition as a Great Power in the seventeenth century gave rise to the foundation of the Johan Skytte Chair in Rhetorics and Political Science at the University of Uppsala in 1622 as a college for prospective diplomats. After that, knowledge and skill acquired by Swedish scholars have over centuries, time and time again, been exploited by the Government in its foreign policy--a well-known event in our century was the mobilization of the social science elite to legitimize Sweden's continued supremacy over Norway at the dissolution of the union between the two countries in 1905. The last scholar in this tradition was Rudolf Kjellén, professor of political science, a distinguished figure in contemporary social science in the beginning of this century, first at Gotherburg and later at Uppsala. As a leading representative of the school of geopolitics he drew parallels between the functions of states and biological organisms, elaborating a general normative theory of international politics and the relations between Great Powers. Kjellén's ideas were held in high esteem, not only in Sweden but still more in Germany, where they had an impact on the young National Socialist Movement. The fall of Germany in the First World War--the victory of which Kjellén had anticipated in accordance with his theory--also meant the end of Kjellén's influence. True, in recent years there has been a certain renaissance of geopolitical theories. It seems, however, to be motivated by political expediency in Great Power rivalry rather than by the accuracy and explanatory power of Kjellén's approach to international politics.

Sweden
Leif Lewin, Professor of Political Science, University of Uppsala; Lars Nord, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Uppsala.

Thus, having gone astray, normative theory and general systems fell into disrepute in recent decades with Swedish political and other social scientists. During the era of rapid industrialization and democratization of the Swedish society new areas of research developed: democratic theory and political philosophy, constitutional law and historical monographic studies and--under American influence--the study of mass behaviour. Methodologically, the focus was on small, well defined fields of analysis using historical sources, constitutional documents, electoral statistics and so on. The very questions relating to the basis of a good society (from a normative point of view) or the mechanisms of the political system as a whole (on a general functional level) were regarded as ideologically compromised. Without explicit discussion, international studies more or less vanished from academic research during this period. Only teaching remained. Undergraduate and graduate courses in international relations remained compulsory. The fact that historians were to some extent an exception, and continued to write the history of Swedish foreign policy from ancient times up to 1939, did not improve the gloomy picture very much.

It was not until the early 1960's that the study of international affairs came into fashion again. Thus, world events like the Second World War and the Cold War did not make a great impact on the contemporary Swedish social sciences. It seems as if the policy of neutrality in World War II and of nonalignment in the Cold War was so much supported by public opinion and without bold opposition that it did not inspire great enthusiasm for research. Some fifteen years ago intertwined and concurrent circumstances changed the situation. The collapse of the Western colonial system as symbolized by the establishment of many new states in Asia and Africa, the lessening of tension in the Cold War and the economic integration of Western Europe were the main factors contributing to renewed interest in other countries and in international politics. Research activities and the flow of students to optional courses suddenly increased. A postgraduate examination in international politics was introduced at the Department of Political Science at the University of Stockholm. In 1966 the Nordic Governments established a Nordic cooperation committee to further research in international politics including peace and conflict research.

The very different motives for this engagement and its almost explosive character had repercussions on the whole field of international studies which were dispersed, uncoordinated, lacking a dominating school or centre. Research was dependent upon individual preferences rather than linked to an established tradition. Scarce resources are scattered over many separate projects, which may be a weakness, but is no doubt also a strength as it encourages variety, experimentation, and initiative.

The present survey covers a wide range of subjects and methods, from international politics in general to problems related to specific areas of the globe, from traditional historic descriptions to quantified data analyses. It should, however, be underlined that international studies is still a marginal subject in Sweden--more so than in many other comparable countries. On a post-doctoral level there is just a handful of scholars working on different projects.

Before we begin our presentation of international studies in Sweden, a few words should be said on the Swedish university system as a whole. It has a bureaucratic, centralized, and traditional structure--even if some changes are under way today--with research activities concentrated in the five universities in Uppsala, Lund, Stockholm, Gotherburg, and Umea and in a few associated institutes. The typical university department might be described as follows:

In almost all departments there is still just one full professor, so that most disciplines have only five professors in the whole country. Some of the bigger departments have, in addition, an associate professor. Normally, there are also one or two assistant professors (docent) and a couple of research assistants. If we add the Ph.D. candidates we have listed the whole research staff of a normal Swedish department. These people are responsible for research and the Ph.D. programs and do no teaching at the undergraduate level. Undergraduate teaching is done by lecturers, who are well-paid, but involved in such a heavy teaching load that they do not have time for research.

In international politics the undergraduate courses are based on the same general program at all the five universities. At the Ph.D. level cooperation between the universities has begun and includes Ph.D. courses in international relations on a nation-wide basis, i.e. all students meet at one university for what might be called residential courses. About ten Ph.D. candidates participate in courses in international politics each year.

Swedish universities are publicly financed. Apart from regular government allocations, including grants to Ph.D. candidates for periods up to three years, there are state research funds supporting separate projects; the two most important funding agencies are the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund and the Swedish Council for Social Science Research. Private foundations play an insignificant role as a source of research support in the social sciences.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

International studies is a very broad field.[1] Its disciplinary boundaries, scope and content are unclear. Desisting from any attempt to make a general definition we delimit the field by simply stating and explaining the main headings under which we have chosen to present it. Social anthropology, international law, and international economics have been excluded from this survey. Especially the latter is very important in Sweden, but is too complicated in structure and range of special institutes to be covered by anyone but a professional economist. Thus, international studies in this survey comprise the following:

I. International relations, dealing with international politics in general, international and diplomatic history, the international system of states, strategy of war and defence--in other words, subjects traditionally connected with international studies.

II. Peace and conflict research, established as a reaction against and as an alternative to traditional studies of international politics, criticizing, it is said, the narrow military strategic and diplomatic approach. It could be considered a sub-category under the former heading, but we have treated it as a separate category because of its rebellious position and its explicitly normative purpose, seeing the creation of a just and peaceful world as the ultimate raison d'etre of its research.

III. Development and area studies, being mainly concerned with the problems of the so-called Third World, and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, this field is, in a way, more restricted in scope than I and II above. On the other hand, it applies unorthodox interdisciplinary approaches to national and international questions.

Studies of language and literature are not taken into account in this survey.

Under each heading, we present work undertaken in the Departments of Political Science at each of the universities, then research carried on by other university departments, and, finally, that of separate institutes and institutions, even though they are always housed within the universities.

I. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Departments of Political Science

The study of international relations as a separate branch of political science is not very prevalent in the department at Uppsala. However, two research groups work on problems of interest to this survey. One of them will be mentioned in the section on area studies while the other deserves attention under this heading. It is a group working within the tradition of political philosophy, the study of which is well established and of high quality in the department. In its analyses of political debates and ideologies, the group has included doctrines of foreign policy. Three major studies have been completed up to now. The first is a study by E. Vedung on the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway in 1905. The book discusses theory and method in the contemporary analysis of political ideas, and provides a framework for the study of decision-making in a comparison between the Swedish and Norwegian positions in the debate preceding the dissolution. (Stockholm, 1971; Summary in English.)

A subsequent study by B. Holmstrom was devoted to the Korean War in the Swedish foreign policy debate. Employing historical methods of analysis of political ideas, the author discussed how, on the one hand, people taking part in the debate perceived the situation and what kind of measures they recommended to end the conflict, and on the other, how they reconciled Swedish foreign policy doctrine on nonalignment in peace and neutrality in war with a positive view of the UN measures in Korea. (Stockholm, 1972; Summary in English.)

The latest book, published by a member of the group, L. Nord, tries to bring the traditional semantic analysis of political ideas a step further by ranking arguments according to their application in practice. The object of study is Yugoslavia's efforts to combine nonalignment and socialism. How it is done in theory is shown in a discussion of the place of nonalignment within Marxism-Leninism. Its application in practice is analysed in case studies of Yugoslavia's foreign policy principles as applied at the first three Conferences of Nonalignment and in four international crises. (Stockholm, 1974; in English.)

Forthcoming dissertations include: the debate within the World Council of Churches about Marxism (S. Blomgren); a semantic-logical analysis of the declarations of liberty in the Charter of the United Nations and the constitutions of the Soviet Union and the United States (H. Kanger); the debate on disarmament in the United Nations 1947-1949 (B. Aberg).

Finally, a comparative study of the foreign policy of the United States is in progress at the Department (W. Carlsnaes).

In Lund a major study by H. F. Petersson was published in 1964 on four schools of thought and their approaches to war, peace and a post-war system 1914-1919. It is an analytical inquiry into the general problems underlying different modes of using power for the establishment and maintenance of international order. (Lund, 1964; in English.) The book attracted quite a few graduate students to international politics and there is still an active seminar in this field in the Department.

Petersson's influence is reflected in a subsequent study by M. Bergquist examining the debate on the relations between Sweden and the EEC in 1961-62. In analytical framework, the author clarifies the various positions on the EEC question in Sweden and explains why certain schools of thought advocated one solution or another. (Stockholm, 1970; Summary in English.)

A dissertation by L.-G. Stenelo (1972) is illustrative of the model-building approach which now dominates the seminar. Swedish efforts to affect the outcome of the disarmament negotiations in Geneva are analysed in a conceptual framework for the study of mediation processes. (Lund, 1972; in English.) At present, Stenelo is working on two projects; one deals with prognosis and planning in foreign policy-making and the other with strategy of criticism as a persuasion technique

Dissertations in progress at the Department cover a wide range of topics. General problems of international politics are dealt with in a study of change, conflict and violence in international politics (H. Daun), and to some extent in an investigation on international organizations (T. Oberg), and in a debate analysis of international shipping policy from a historical perspective (L. Gyldén). Different countries and areas are studied in theses analysing the concept of neutrality in Scandinavia 1948-49 (J.-E. Radehed); the British political debate about colonies during the Second World War (K. Hake); the Soviet view of theory and strategy of the international communist movement (R. B. Hansson); Soviet international negotiation behaviour (Ch. Jonsson); the propaganda of the Middle East Conflict (A. Lidén); linkages and inner determinants of Ghana's nonaligned foreign policy (S. Lindqvist); and foreign policy decision-making in Japan in relation to her China policy (K. Iwanga). Finally, an assessment of various studies in international relations is also in preparation (L. Hellstrom).

As mentioned earlier, the study of international politics as an independent branch of political science was introduced at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University in the early 1960's. Historical inductive methods had been prevalent for a long time but due to close cooperation with the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, the methodological picture is now more varied. Cooperative research of these two institutions will be described in the section dealing with the Institute. Here we restrict ourselves to the work undertaken exclusively by the Department.

The first study to be reported is by K. Wahlback and examines the treatment of the Finnish question in Swedish politics in the

170

years 1937-1940. It deals with important diplomatic events and describes how politicians, the King, and military and diplomatic experts dealt with the question. There is also a discussion of the motivation of the decision-makers (Stockholm, 1964; Summary in French.)

A general reference book on Sweden's foreign policy since the end of World War II has been compiled by N. Andrén. It is an analysis, supported by documentary evidence, of the impact of power-blocs on Sweden's international behaviour, reviewing the main post-war problems in order to show what happens when basic principles of nonalignment are confronted with other significant aims and ideals. (Stockholm, 1967; in English.)

In an explorative study by G. Sjostedt, the positive and negative consequences of membership in OECD are identified and described. Discussing the possibilities of elaborating a general model for assessment of the work of international service organizations, the author attempts to clarify what achievements might be expected from so-called functional organizations. (Stockholm, 1972; Summary in English.)

The main project, of which the first part is almost completed, takes up the question of integration, sovereignty, and neutrality. The first study to be published deals with the official debate on the concept of neutrality in Sweden and Switzerland 1945-70 (K. Wahlback), while forthcoming dissertations analyse the debate on economic cooperation between the Nordic countries (C. Wiklund), and Sweden's negotiations with the European organizations for economic cooperation (K.-E. Stalvant).

The list of other dissertations planned includes: concepts of integration and international cooperation (A. Lundqvist); political consequences of foreign dependence for development (R. Ko-Chic Tung); a thesis discussing political and international systems as factors in formulating Swedish foreign policy (L.-E. Jenslin); another is focused on Finland, more exactly on the arguments for and against liberalization of trade in the 1950's (R. Bjorsne).

At the Department of Political Science in Gothenburg there is no research program in international relations. However, some dissertations should be mentioned. Sweden's relations with the rest of the world as reflected in broadcasts is examined in an analysis of the in and out flow of material (R. Lindahl) and--in another context--in an analysis of Folke Bernadotte's role in the Palestine conflict (S. Persson). Iceland is another Nordic country under examination, in particular her relations with NATO (E. Loftsson). The Soviet Union's social research is one theme concerned with a socialist country (L. Johnsson), another deals with dependency relations within COMECON, taking Roumania as an example (I. Nilsson).

171

Two dissertations deal with problems outside Europe: one devoted to the internationalization of the South African conflict (A. Magnusson), the other is a study of Taiwan based on interviews relating to the dependency of political communication on communication structures (G. Morander).

Belonging to our youngest and smallest university (3000 students) founded in 1963, the Department in Umea offers very little in the field of international relations. However, one of the dissertations, by G. Jervas, uses United States policy during the Kennedy-Johnson period as a starting-point to develop a pre-theory about the longitudinal evolution of security policy. (Umea, 1971; mimeo; Summary in English.) In another study the same author discusses strategic thinking from the end of the Second World War until 1972. Divided into two parts, the book first gives an empirical account of the development within the area, and then presents a general theory on security politics. (Stockholm, 1972; in Swedish only.) In a third study, the same author outlines a general model for the study of conflict between states, intending to provide the reader with a set of instruments for the analysis of international conflicts. (Stockholm, 1973; in Swedish only.) Jervas is also the editor of a book of essays on the Swedish, Finnish, Danish, and Norwegian foreign policy by different authors and with a theoretical introduction by the editor. (Lund, 1974; in Swedish only.)

Other University Departments

There is a renewed interest in the history of international politics and relations in the early 1960's. Traditional disciplinary boundaries in the social sciences concerning both methods and subject matter are breaking down. The prime mover in this process has been the Department of History in Lund.

The first major work, indicating the new trend, deals with the politics of the German minority in Nordschleswig 1933-1939. Written by S. Tagil, it discusses whether this development was influenced by external forces or evolved within the minority without foreign interference. (Stockholm, 1970; in German.) With financial support from the Bank of Sweden Tercentary Fund, this study has grown into a major project examining the functions and effects of boundaries in general. Empirical test cases are--in addition to Germany's boundaries between the World Wars--the boundaries in Western Europe after World War I, and the colonial boundaries in East Africa. (S. Tagil, leader of the project, K. Gerner, R. Johansson, P. Langby, J. Molander, I. Oldberg.)

N. Akerman has produced a critical analysis of the doctrine of limited war, tracing its background in the pre-nuclear age and in the discussion of strategy after the Second World War. It deals with foreign policy and military strategy. (Lund, 1972; in English.)

A major unorthodox work is a contribution to the observations on organization, conflict and innovation analysing German naval strategic planning 1888-1940. The author, C.-A. Gemzell, illustrates the relationship between modern large-scale organization, social conflict at different levels, and modern development in the military, technological and political field with explanations which have been neglected in traditional historical investigations. (Lund, 1973; in English.)

The most recent publication, by B. Huldt, discusses the adaptation by Sweden, a small, nonaligned country, to an international environment in transition as illustrated by her participation in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly 1946-1969. A quantitative analysis is followed by a chronological, descriptive presentation of Swedish involvement in the Namibia or South West Africa case. (Lund, 1974; in English.)

At the Department of History in Stockholm, a project is near completion. It is on Sweden in the Second World War and involves the use of traditional, historic methods. (Leaders: U. Palme, G. T. Westin, S. Ekman.) It deals with military defence, security politics, domestic policy, opinion formation, and social policy. The following studies are the most relevant to this survey:

First in the series is a study by L. Bjorkman, dealing with Sweden and "Operation Barbarossa," the behaviour of Swedish foreign policy and defence elites in view of Germany's obvious intentions to attack the Soviet Union. (Stockholm, 1971; Summary in English.)

Another dissertation, by A. Uhlin, focuses on Sweden's relations to Germany and discusses how Swedish government and military leaders perceived German intentions. (Stockholm, 1972; Summary in English.)

R. Karlsson deals with the effect on Swedish policy 1942-1943 of German Transit Traffic through Sweden, taking into account the attitudes of opposing states at war. (Stockholm, 1974; Summary in English.)

Danish-Swedish relations are investigated by U. Torell, who discusses the military and political aspects of Sweden's aid to Denmark 1943-1945. (Stockholm, 1973; Summary in English.)

Sweden's negotiations with belligerent parties to continue her traffic through the Scagerak Straits are dealt with by N. Rockberger. (Stockholm, 1973; Summary in English.)

The delicate questionof Sweden's refugee policy towards Jews and socialists who tried to escape to Sweden from Nazi persecution is studied by H. Lindberg from a Nordic and European perspective. (Stockholm, 1973; Summary in English.)

A dissertation by K. Amark analyses the public debate in Sweden concerning international politics and Swedish foreign and defence policy 1938-1939. (Stockholm, 1973; Summary in English.)

The same topic related to Finland is dealt with by A. Johansson in a study of Swedish policies and opinion during the Winter War 1939-1940. (Stockholm, 1973; Summary in English.)

Finland is also the subject of a study by E. Carlquist. He discusses Swedish aid to Finland during the Winter War, the relations between the Swedish government and aid organizations. (Stockholm, 1971; Summary in English.)

Finally, there is one more study on Finland, by A. Holmquist, dealing with the possibility of Swedish mines in the Aland waters in the Autumn of 1939. (Stockholm, 1972; Summary in English.)

An inter-Scandinavian project at the Department of History in Gothenburg led by B. Schiller attempts to identify the factors determining international cooperation for three interest groups: workers, farmers, and industrialists. Studies in progress examine the attitude of Nordic Farmers organizations to the proposed Nordic Customs Union 1948-1959 (K. Andersson); Nordic industrialists (B. Straht); EFTA (G. Gage); International Confederation of Free Trade Unions 1957-1965 (A. Wedin, Stockholm); and internationalism, regionalism and nationalism in agricultural producer organizations (M. Petersson).

The political dimensions of race, minorities, and work and technology illustrated by semantic data from 23 countries are the subject of a dissertation now in preparation by H. Soydan at the Department of Sociology in Uppsala.

In the Department of Sociology in Lund, a project traces the effects of external conflict on the internal development of a country, using Egypt and the Middle East Conflict as an example (P. Gahrton).

The Swedish Institute of International Affairs

The Institute, established in 1938, is a private, non-profit organization producing documentation, public information, and research in the field of world politics. About 65 percent of its income derives from governmental grants, about 3 percent from private grants, and the remainder from the proceeds of publications. There are about fifty employees. A. Sparring is the director. Between one-fourth and one-third of the activities and budget are devoted to research, largely financed by the Research Institute of Swedish National Defence.

Since the early 1960's, the research department worked mostly with historic inductive methods introduced by K. E. Birnbaum, former Director of the Institute. His dissertation had been on Germany's policy towards the United States during the First World War in the decisive phase preceding the German decision for unrestricted U-boat warfare on January 9, 1917. (Stockholm, 1958; in English.) His subsequent book, dovted to East-West relations in the years 1966-1968, examines official documents identifying different goals of the main countries, East and West, under the heading of "détente." He concludes with conditions for a "modus vivendi" and a solution to the problems of a divided Europe. (London, Stockholm, Opladen, 1970). In a sequel to this study, the author retraces the development of East-West negotiations during the period 1970-72. In addition to documentary evidence, interviews with some of the key figures concerned are used to analyse policies of the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic, and the Democratic Republic of Germany ending with an assessment of the possibilities of closer cooperation within Europe. (Lexington, Mass., Farnborough, Hants, 1973.) Birnbaum's current work is an analysis of current East-West negotiations in collaboration with other European and American scholars and a study of the perceptions of decision-makers in East and West: human relations and information exchange as factors conducive to peaceful change in Europe.

A study of de Gaulle's conceptions of Europe in the years 1944-1969, by H. Sjoberg, tries to answer questions about the General's European policy, whether the unity of Western Europe and all-European cooperation were goals, or just means to maintain and strengthen the independence and security of France. (Uppsala, 1972; in Swedish only.)

At the end of the 1960's and early 1970's the research profile of the Institute changed. With Kjell Goldmann at the head of its research department it soon developed into the leading Swedish center for the quantitative, model-building approach to the study of international relations. This orientation is well documented in Goldmann's dissertation on international norms and war between states. An examination of the way in which governments justify international warfare, the study presents a model for the relationships between norms and behaviour within a social system. It is used in an analysis of current "international norms" about inter-state warfare. The book ends with an investigation of the relationships between characteristics of states and justifications of warfare. (Stockholm, 1971; in English.) A later study by the same author analyses the nature, scope, and durability of East-West détente in Europe. Ups and downs of tension in the postwar period are measured quantitatively and explained with reference to changes in the nature of superpower blocs and in the nuclear balance. (Stockholm, 1974; in English.) Goldmann is now studying changes in international power structure.

A dissertation applying similar methodology, by Th. G. Hart, discusses ideological change and organizational dynamics in the Chinese revolution on the basis of a cybernetic theory of modern social revolution. (Stockholm, 1971; in English.) Hart now works on cognitive behaviour of elites responsible for Sweden's national security and plans to start a project on the effect of China's agricultural development on her foreign relations.

A study of Finland's foreign policy doctrine by K. Brodin has been published. It is an analysis of content of official statements made by Paasikivi and Kekkonen in the years 1944-1968, the so-called Paasikivi-Kekkonen Line. (Stockholm, 1972; in Swedish only.) Brodin's study is really part of a project on the existing national doctrines of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Soviet Union, published in a number of research reports (in Swedish).

Within Goldmann's program on European tension, a dissertation by G. R. Wall on fluctuations in the degree of polarization in the international system in the years 1946-1970 will shortly be completed. Goldmann is now part of a team working on international power and influence: the future international role of the European Community (G. Sjostedt; see also p. 167); an attempt to create a general theory of economic dependence (S. Iger); Soviet influence on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United Arab Republic (L.-E. Lundin); and direct foreign investment policies in multinational enterprises (L. Thunell).

Two separate studies in preparation cover foreign and domestic aspects of Poland's postwar history (K. Lapter), and Soviet and Western approaches to the study of war (J. Lider).

The Secretariat for Security Politics and Long-Term Planning (SSLP), Swedish Ministry of Defence

The Secretariat has a small department of international politics. It follows the international debate and reports to decision-makers at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence. Research is usually presented in publications in Swedish, mostly dealing with strategic and military aspects of international relations.

I. Dorfer's analysis of the decision-making process is of some interest. It deals with the construction of System 37 Viggen, the largest industrial development project in Scandinavian history, competing with the most advanced combat aircraft in the world. He uses the secret archives of the Ministry of Defence and interviews with the main actors in government, business and administration. (Oslo, 1973; in English.)

II. PEACE AND CONFLICT RESEARCH

Peace and conflict research, as a separate academic branch and discipline, has a short but, institutionally and intellectually, an extraordinary history in the Nordic countries. Scandinavia is considered one of a handful of centres for such studies. Starting in Norway at the end of the fifties, it spread to Sweden and the other Nordic countries in the middle of the sixties. Important for its development was "The Nordic Cooperation Committee for International Politics, incl. Conflict and Peace Research," a fund set up in 1966 and sponsored jointly by the Nordic governments for cooperation, research and training. This Committee has not only given substantial grants for research, particularly inter-Nordic projects, but also provided considerable sums of money for conferences and symposia, and the publication of books and reports. Peace and conflict studies have special Departments at the Universities of Uppsala, Lund and Gothenburg affiliated with the faculties of social science, and an independent institute in Stockholm, founded to commemorate Sweden's 150 years of unbroken peace.

It is part of the raison d'etre of peace and conflict research to be inter-disciplinary in approach. It incorporates people from all social sciences, and even from disciplines outside this category. It is therefore difficult to describe its methods and research topics. The following pages provide some indicators to the interested reader.

The Departments of Peace and Conflict Research at the Universities

Since the early seventies, the activities of the Department in Uppsala include research, study groups and teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. There are about ten people engaged in research. Publications issued--mostly in the form of reports--cover the whole spectrum of topics. The most relevant ones are listed below.

On the traditional problem of civil defence, B. Hoglund et al. tries to introduce new aspects of defence policy. He expands the debate by asking what is to be defended, against whom and with what aim in mind. (Stockholm, 1969; in Swedish.)

Another study discusses economic sanctions as an instrument in the international system. P. Wallensteen, the present head of the Department, describes and explains why economic sanctions have been chosen, their effects on the nations exposed to them, and their success in achieving compliance or in resolving a conflict. (Stockholm, 1971; in Swedish only.) In a subsequent study (the first doctoral dissertation in peace and conflict research in Sweden), Wallensteen examines the development of the international structure during a period of fifty years, using theories of imperialism and interaction. The occurrence of war is related to phenomena such as dominance, power groupings, economics, strategic and ideological interests, applying both quantitative and historical methods. (Stockholm, 1973; in English.)

Research projects in progress deal with Swedish neutrality in international perspective based on analyses of military, economic, and diplomatic activities (P. Wallensteen); Colombian cultural dependence (B. Dunér); popular conceptions of Swedish defence - alternative models of conflict and defence (O. Frensborg); resource policy and conflict in the 1970's, with particular reference to minerals (M. Hammarstrom); mobilization and democratization in Czechoslovakia 1966-1969 as expressed by members of civic organizations (O. Kleberg); relations between Lesotho and South Africa (G. Winai-Strom); disarmament policy in the UN 1946-1949 (B. Aberg, see also p. 165); development planning and economic independence in Africa (A. Akerlund).

The Department in Lund, with H. Wiberg at its head, concentrates on research groups and postgraduate courses. Publications and papers are numerous and varied in method and topics.

Perhaps more than any other Department of Peace and Conflict Research in Sweden it has concentrated on conditions of peace and conflict research *per se*, its epistemological foundations, applicability and possible social consequences. This has resulted in several papers, mostly by H. Schmid, and some of the most important Swedish and international critical analyses of peace research and its theoretical base and political implications. The editor, L. Dencik, provides commentaries and gives an account of the history, scope and content of peace and conflict research. (Lund, 1973; in Swedish only.)

In fashion some years ago, the application of the game theory and gaming within the field of conflict research was an important theme. Proceeding from a formal to a more structural approach, the interest in variations of the Prisoner's Dilemma moved to studies of asymmetrical and other games. (I. Bokander, L. Dencik, K. Lindbom, M. Mansson, L. Sjoberg, H. Wiberg.)

With multinational corporations and the process of internationalization as a starting point, a group in the Department examines dominance and dependence in the international system in terms of conflict, structural violence, imperialism and threat (J. Annerstedt, L. Borgquist, C. Brundenius, Ch. Edquist, P. Enstrom, R. Gustavsson, K. Lindkvist, L. Wadstedt).

Mass media reporting on conflicts at national and international levels is studied by sociologists and historians. Frequency of reporting, the cognitive framework of conflicts, comparisons of intra- and extra-media data are taken into account (G. Rikardsson, K. E. Rosengren, leader of the project, J. Thelander).

As part of an international project on images of the world in the year 2000, some work has been undertaken on perceptions of peace, conflict and the international system; predominant thought in the Swedish peace movement, and perception of conflict in children. (E. S. Bengtsson, I. Book, L. Dencik, L. Rosell, H. Schmid, C. Wedberg, H. Wiberg, S. Oberg.)

Finally, one project is devoted to armament and disarmament (L. Dencik, H. Schmid, H. Wiberg, J. Oberg).

Inter-disciplinary studies are pursued in the Department in Gothenburg. Studies include a theoretical critique of the realist school of international politics as represented by H. Morgenthau. The author, M. Friberg, elaborates an alternative theoretical system based on the normative position of peace and conflict research. The relationship between power politics and war, politics and peace, and balance of power and peace are examined. (Gothenburg, 1973; mimeo; a short Summary in English.) A study of economic theories and patterns explaining conflicts, by B. Johansson and A. Petterson has also been published. It is an introduction to the most important concepts largely devoted to the history of doctrines and general economic phenomena of exchange. (Lund, 1975; in Swedish only.)

The largest and most ambitious project in peace and conflict research in Sweden is in progress in Gothenburg. Involving about 15 researchers and funded by the Swedish Council for Social Science Research, it studies social and political movements in the Third World with a view to developing a general theory on the mobilization of change in societal processes. Studies concern mobilization and village development in Ceylon (S. Ohrling); mobilization and development in Karnataka (B. Hettne); the impact of the "Green Revolution" on social structure in India (M. Hart); revolutionary mobilization in the Soviet Union and Cuba during their first decades of communist rule (M. Friberg); organization of work and potential of mobilization in Indonesian rural societies (S. Cederroth, I. Gerdin, W. Lundstrom); mobilization of "scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes" in India (G. Nagy); mobilization systems in Tanzania (P. Brandstrom); mobilization for rural development as applied in a village in Western Ethiopia (J. Hultin); the mobilizing role of mass parties in Turkey (E. Ozdalga); development and mobilization in Bangla Desh (L. Arn); the role of ideology in the process of mobilization (K. Lindkvist, see also p. 174).

A minor project discusses structural changes in the global system of dominance with special emphasis on oil in the Arab world (G. Tompuri).

Finally, there is a new project focusing on the change of the Swedish social structure from a perspective of conflict (H. Hart).

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute--SIPRI

SIPRI was set up in 1966 as an independent institute to commemorate Sweden's 150 years of unbroken peace. Its purpose is to conduct scientific research on important questions of international peace and security. Its activities include: research on special topics, the publication of books and brochures for a wide-ranging audience, and commentaries on important current events in the field. SIPRI's income derives almost exclusively from government grants, and a minor part from the sale of its publications. The staff consists of about 35 people, about half of whom are engaged on research. The director is F. Barnaby.

So far SIPRI has concentrated its research mostly on problems of armaments, disarmament and arms regulation. Its publications are documentary rather than analytical, and contain a lot of statistical and technical data compiled by specialists in the natural as well as social sciences. Its flagship is the SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament, internationally known and well received since its inception in 1968/9.

In addition to a number of minor papers and research reports, SIPRI has also published several other books dealing with the following themes: the law of the seas (1969); trade in major weapons--ships, aircraft, tanks and missiles--between the developed and underdeveloped countries during the postwar period (1971); and since 1971 a six-volume study of the historical, technical, military, legal and political aspects of chemical and biological warfare and possible disarmament measures (1971-75). An expanded version of a study appearing in the 1972 Yearbook describes the attitudes of fifteen near-nuclear countries to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (with full documentation on the NPT). Another expanded study (1972) is on international comparison of resources devoted to military research and development. Problems of verification with respect to chemical disarmament are raised on the basis of an examination of the data reported by a national verification organization controlling potential chemical warfare materials (1973). The reduction of forces in Europe is the topic of a review of military doctrines of NATO and WTO with an analysis of the proposals for negotiations on the mutual reduction of forces and armaments and associated measures in Central Europe (1974). Another review is devoted to developments in antisubmarine warfare technologies and strategies, and the implications of strategic nuclear submarines in modern warfare (1974). Security problems related to oil are taken up in a study dealing with conflict potentials in a situation of oil shortage, and the arms race that this may stimulate (1974). Finally, the Institute has published a collection of papers presented at its conference of experts from 13 countries on the problems of nuclear-weapon proliferation likely to be raised at the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference (1974).

III. DEVELOPMENT AND AREA STUDIES

The field is complex and without disciplinary or subject boundaries. Development studies, dedicated to the politics of the Third World, started in the 1960's with great enthusiasm, but today lacks methodological clarity.

The Departments of Political Science

A centre for development studies in the Department of Political Science in Uppsala, under L. Rudebeck, initiated research in the early sixties. Rudebeck's first study analyzed the connection between societal goals and the political system in Tunisia as an example of an African one-party state. Basing his investigation largely on interviews and local historical material, he places Tunisia's political system on a scale indicating different kinds of party systems performing their basic functions in different ways depending upon the extent to which a system can be characterized as an "elite" or "mass" one-party system. (Stockholm, 1967; in English.) In a subsequent theoretical study Rudebeck undertakes a critical analysis of the functional approach to the study of underdevelopment, as applied in his own book on Tunisia. He attempts to elaborate an alternative, partly Marxist analytical model using political system and development strategy as key concepts. (Stockholm, 1970; in Swedish only.) The theoretical reorientation is disernable in his latest book on the new society under construction in the liberated areas of Guinea Bissau while the armed struggle against Portugal was going on, taking the political changes in Portugal and her former African colonies into account. The study discusses the political process by which support for revolutionary efforts is mobilized and organized. (Uppsala, 1974; in English.)

Another study, written by one of Rudebeck's students, M. Stahl, is devoted to Ethiopia and the land and agricultural policies of her Imperial Government. Political and economic relations between peasants and landlords are analysed within the social structure of the medieval Abyssinian kingdom and in Hailie Selassie's land policies from the Second World War to the early 1970's. The Swedish-sponsored agricultural development projects are discussed. (Stockholm, 1974; in English.)

Dissertations in progress at the Department include the politics of distribution in Ghana as applied by the Nkrumah government within the cocoa industry (B. Beckman); national independence in relations between France and the three Maghreb countries, Algeria in particular (I. Brandell); interests influencing government policies in Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland (D. Kowet); conflicting interests between South Africa and other African countries (S. Martin); the mechanism of economic dependence on advanced capitalist states as exemplified in Zambia, Kenya and Tanzania (M. Palmberg); the structures of exploitation in Mozambique and FRELIMO's efforts to replace them (L. Richardson); group interests and government policies in post-civil war Nigeria (M. Sahlin); political parties and problems of socialism in Africa south of the Sahara (O. Silveira); the relations of dependency between Lesotho and South Africa (G. Winai-Strom, see also p. 174).

Uppsala was not the only university for development studies--another was Lund. Here a twin study to that on Tunisia by Rudebeck was undertaken by G. Hydén, centering on Tanzania. It deals with the capability of the political system to handle problems of development. Partly based on interviews, the book examines the reaction of the common man in a remote part of Tanzania to prescriptions offered by the political leaders at the centre for the solution of various urgent problems. (Lund, 1968; in English.) In a subsequent study Hydén discussed the development in Tanzania after the publication of the so-called Arusha Declaration of 1967. (Staffanstorp, 1972; in Swedish only.)

The Departments of Political Science in Uppsala and Lund are in effect the only centres of development studies. In other area studies the boundaries are more ambiguous. In the political sciences three dissertations in preparation at the Department in Stockholm should be mentioned. They deal with party politics in South India (J. Walsh); Jewish and Arab nationalism in the years 1880-1914 (S. Hansson); and non-integration in the Maghreb countries (M. Eduards).

Finally, at the Department of Political Science in Umea, a thesis deals with revisionism in the Finnish communist party. (B. Matti.)

Other University Departments

At the Department of Sociology in Uppsala, a major study of urbanization, agricultural, and political development in Nigeria is about to be completed as part of an international project. (U. Himmelstrand.)

The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation

The Foundation, with S. Hamrell as executive director, was established in 1962 in memory of the late Secretary-General of the United Nations. Its purpose is to organize seminars, conferences and courses on social and economic problems of developing countries. The income of the Foundation derives from government funds.

Publications are based on seminars and conferences sponsored or co-sponsored by the Foundation. Subjects include export promotion, lectures presented at the St. Gall Graduate School of Economics and Business Administration, August-November 1967 (Geneva, 1968; in English, in French and Spanish in 1969); African refugee problems (Uppsala, 1968; mimeo; in English and French); adult education in Africa (Uppsala, 1969; mimeo; in English); the structure, role and functions of the UN system (Uppsala, 1969; mimeo; in English); regional economic integration (Uppsala, 1970; mimeo; in English); tourism in Africa (Uppsala, 1970, 1971 and 1972; mimeo; in English); adult education and teaching by correspondence (Uppsala, 1970; in English); nutrition as a priority in African development (Uppsala, 1971; mimeo; 1972 as a book; in English); communication (Uppsala, 1972; mimeo; in English); technical assistance administration in East Africa (Uppsala, 1973; in English); treaties, a handbook (Uppsala, 1973; in English); and education and employment in Botswana, by P. von Rensburg (Uppsala, 1974; in English).

The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies

Headed by G. Widstrand, the Institute started its activities in 1962. Its main task is to disseminate information about Africa to public institutions, private organizations and to answer individual inquiries in Scandinavia. The media used are a library, publications, conferences and scholarships for research on Africa. The Institute is largely financed by Swedish government funds, the other Nordic countries contributing only a minor part. The staff consists of sixteen people including two senior researchers. Instruction for academic degrees is not provided.

Not being a research institute, it publishes annual international seminar papers devoted to such subjects as development and adult education (1964); refugee problems (1966); boundary problems (1968); cooperatives and rural development (1970); Africana in African and international mass media (1971); cooperatives (1972); land-locked countries (1973); and multinational corporations (1975). Another publication, written by O. Stokke, is one of a series of three books on Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish development aid. (Uppsala, 1975; in Norwegian only). Projects in progress deal with Swedish-Ethiopian relations 1865-1952 (V. Halldin), and with the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (Z. Cervenka).

The Institute of Latin American Studies

Established as an independent institution in 1969, and formerly part of the Stockholm School of Economics, the Institute's aim is to promote Swedish research and teaching on Latin America. Library, seminars and information are the Institute's main activities, which are financed by Swedish government funds. The staff consists of about ten people, two of whom are researchers.

The modest research undertaken includes a monograph by M. Morner, the head of the Institute, on the Spanish crown and foreigners in Latin America (Stockholm, 1970; in Spanish).

Other projects deal with the history of tenant labour in Andean South America since the eighteenth century (M. Morner), and the development and location of manufacturing industries in Venezuela (W. Karlsson).

The Department of Soviet and East European Studies

Part of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Uppsala, this department, headed by A. Adahl, was founded in 1970 to promote the study of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It mainly coordinates work done in other Departments, arranges conferences on topics in the field and provides some courses at undergraduate level. The staff consists of six people.

Research includes a study by J. A. Dellenbrant on Soviet discussions about economic reform in the years 1960-1965. It examines the nature of the proposals put forward, underlying theories, visions of future society as presented by the proponents of economic change. (Stockholm, 1972; in English.)

A project about regional differentiation in the Soviet Union, investigating the effects of the economic reform of 1965 (J. A. Dellenbrant) is also in progress. Dissertations deal with forms of transition from capitalism to socialism (C. John); Czechoslovak federalism (V. Sofka); the local soviets from an historical and comparative perspective (L. Ohlsson); the concept of law in Marxism from Marx to early Soviet theoreticians (J. Fogelklou); the process of secularization in Yugoslavia (K. Magnusson); the function of the Yugoslav banking system (O. Sturesjo).

Note

1. The following survey in addition to readings of our own, is mainly based on personal interviews, publications of the institutions concerned, and on "Newsletter," a bulletin on international studies in the Nordic countries issued by The Nordic Cooperation Committee for International Politics, incl. Conflict and Peace Research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Publications mentioned in the survey

African Boundary Problems, ed. C. G. Widstrand. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1969.

African Co-operatives and Efficiency, ed. C. G. Widstrand. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1972.

Andrén, N., Power-balance and non-alignment. A Perspective on Swedish Foreign Policy. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967.

The Arms Trade with the Third World. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1971.

Bergquist, M., Sverige och EEC. En statsvetenskaplig studie av fyra asiktsriktningars syn pa svensk marknadspolitik 1961-1962. Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1970. Summary in English.

Bjorkman, L., Sverige infor operation Barbarossa. Svensk neutralitetspolitik 1940-1941. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1971. Summary in English.

Birnbaum, K. E. Peace Moves and U-boat Warfare. A Study of Imperial Germany's Policy towards the United States April 18, 1916-January 9, 1917. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958.

______, East and West Germany: A Modus Vivendi. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath; Franborough, Hants: Saxon House, 1973.

______, Peace in Europe. East-West Relations 1966-1968 and the Prospects for a European Settlement. London: Oxford University Press; Stockholm: Rabén & Sjogren; Opladen: Leske Verlag, 1970.

Brodin, K., Finlands utrikespolitiska doktrin. En innehallsanalys av Paasikivis och Kekkonens uttalanden aren 1944-68. Stockholm: Laromedelsforlagen, 1971.

Carlquist, E., Solidaritet pa prov. Finlandshjalp under vinterkriget. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1971. Summary in English.

Chemical Disarmament: Some Problems of Verification. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1973.

Communication--An Essential Component in Development Work. Programme Reports. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1972; two volumes, mimeo.

Co-operatives and Rural Development in East Africa, ed. C. G. Widstrand. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1970.

Dellenbrant, J. A., Reformists and Traditionalists. A Study of Soviet Discussions about Economic Reform, 1960-1965. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjogren in distribution, 1972.

Development and Education in Africa, ed. C. G. Widstrand. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1965.

The Development and Promotion of Tourism in Africa. Lectures. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1970; two volumes, mimeo.

The Development of Tourism in Africa. Essays. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1971; two volumes, mimeo.

The Development of Tourism in Africa. Lectures. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1972; two volumes, mimeo.

Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems, Addis Ababa, Oct. 9-18, 1967. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1968; mimeo.

Force Reductions in Europe. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1974.

Fred, vald, konflikt. Om fredsforskning och dess nyekelbegrepp, red. L. Dencik. Lund: Studentlitteratur; Kobenhavn: Akademisk Forlag, 1973.

Friberg, M., Maktpolitik, maktbalans och fred. En teoretisk kritik av realismen. Goteborg: The Department of Peace and Conflict Research, 1973; mimeo. Summary in English.

Gemzell, C. A. Organization, Conflict, and Innovation. A Study of German Naval Strategic Planning 1888-1940. Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1973.

Goldmann, K., International Norms and War Between States. Three Studies in International Politics. Stockholm: Laromedelsforlaget, 1971.

______, Tension and Détente in Bipolar Europe. Stockholm: Scandinavian University Books, 1974.

Hart. Th. G., The Dynamics of Revolution. A Cybernetic Theory of Modern Social Revolution with a study of Ideological Change and Organizational Dynamics in the Chinese Revolution. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell in distrubition, 1971.

Holmquist, A., Flottans beredskap 1938-1940. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1972. Summary in English.

Holmstrom, B., Koreakriget i svensk debatt. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjogren in distribution, 1972. Summary in English.

Huldt, B., Sweden, the United Nations, and Decolonization. A Study of Swedish Participation in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly 1946-1969. Lund. Scandinavian University Books, 1974.

Hydén, G., TANU Yajenga Nchi--Political Development in Rural Tanzania. Lund: Scandinavian University Books, 1968.

______, Socialism och samhallsutveckling i Tanzania. En studie i teori och praktik. Staffanstorp: Bo Cavefors Bokforlag, 1972.

Hoglund, B., et al., Fredspolitik--Civilmotstand. Stockholm: Aldus, 1969.

Jervas, G., Sakerhetspolitiskt agerande over tiden. Ett forsok till formulering av en pre-teori med utgangspunkt fran den amerikanska politiken under Kennedy-Johnson-perioden. Umea: The Department of Political Science, 1971; mimeo. Summary in English.

______, Fran karnvapen till gerilla. Om modern strategi. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972.

Internationella konfliktprocesser: en generell modell for studiet av mellanstatliga konfliktforlopp. Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand, 1973.

Johansson, A., Finlands sak. Svensk politik och opinion under vinterkriget 1939-1940. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1973. Summary in English.

Johansson, B. - Pettersson, A., Ekonomi och konflikter. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1975.

Karlsson, R., Sa stoppades tysktagen. Den tyska transiteringstrafiken i svensk politik 1942-1943. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1974. Summary in English.

Land-locked Countries of Africa, ed. Z. Cervenka. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1973.

Lectures in Export Promotion. Geneva: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, International Trade Centre UNCTAD/GATT, 1968.

The Legal Aspects of Regional Economic Integration. Lectures. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1970; two volumes, mimeo.

Lindberg, H., Svensk flyktingpolitik under internationellt tryck 1936-1941. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1973. Summary in English.

Mass Education: Studies in Adult Education and Teaching by Correspondence in Some Developing Countries, ed. L.-O. Edstrom - R. Erdos - R. Prosser. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1970.

Multinational corporations in Africa, ed. C. G. Widstrand. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1975.

Morner, M., La corona espanola y los foráneos en pueblos de América. Stockholm: The Institute of Latin American Studies, 1970.

The Near-Nuclear Countries and the NPT. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1972.

Nuclear Proliferation Problems. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1974.

Nutrition as a Priority in African Development: Country Reports. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1971; mimeo.

Oil and Security. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1974.

Petersson, H. F., Power and International Order. An analytical study of four schools of thought and their approaches to the war, the peace and post-war system, 1914-1919. Lund: Gleerups, 1964.

The Problems of Chemical and Biological Warfare. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1971-75; six volumes.

Refugee Problems in Africa, ed. S. Hamrell. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967.

Reporting Africa, ed. O. Stokke. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1971.

Resources Devoted to Military Research and Development: An International Comparison. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1972.

Rockberger, N., Goteborgstrafiken. Svensk lejdtrafik under andra varldskriget. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1973. Summary in English.

Rudebeck, L., Party and People. A Study of Political Change in Tunisia. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967.

______, Utveckling och politik: en samhallsvetenskaplig teoristudie med anknytning till konkret politisk verklighet. Stockholm: Wahlstrom & Widstrand, 1970.

______, Guinea-Bissau. A Study of Political Mobilization. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell in distribution, 1974.

SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmaments 1968/69. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1969.

SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmaments 1969/70. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1970.

Sjoberg, H., de Gaulles europatankar. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjogren in distribution, 1972.

Sjostedt, G., Vad gor OECD? Principer for varderingen av en internationell organisations verksamhet. Stockholm: The Department of Political Science, 1972; mimeo.

Soviet Bloc, China and Africa, ed. S. Hamrell - C. G. Widstrand. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964.

Stenelo, L.-G., Mediation in International Negotiations. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1972.

Stokke, O., Norskt utviklingsbistand. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1975.

The Structure, Role and Functions of the UN System. Lectures. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1969; two volumes, mimeo.

Studies in Adult Education in Africa. Papers. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1969.

Stahl, M., Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjogren in distribution, 1974.

Tactical and Strategic Antisubmarine Warfare. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1974.

Technical Assistance Administration in East Africa, ed. Y. Tandon. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1973.

Torell, U., Hjalp till Danmark. Militara och politiska forbindelser 1943-1945. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1973. Summary in English.

Towards a Better Use of the Ocean. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1969.

The Treaty Maker's Handbook, ed. H. Blix - J. H. Emerson. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1973.

Tagil, S., Deutschland und die deutsche Minderheit in Nordschleswig. Eine Studie zur deutschen Grenzpolitik 1933-1939. Stockholm: Laromedelsforlaget, 1970.

Uhlin, A., Februarikrisen 1942. Svensk sakerhetspolitik och militar planering 1941-42. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1972. Summary in English.

Utrikespolitik i norr, ed. G. Jervas. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1974.

Wahlback, K., Finlandsfragen i svensk politik 1937-1940. Stockholm: P. A. Nohrstedt & Soners Forlag, 1964. Summary in French.

Wallensteen, P., Ekonomiska sanktioner. Stockholm: Prisma, 1971.

______, Structure and War. On International Relations 1920-1968. Stockholm: Rabén & Sjogren in distribution, 1973.

van Rensburg, P., Report from Swaneng Hill: Education and Employment in an African country. Uppsala: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1974.

Vedung, E., Unionsdebatten 1905. En jamforelse mellan argumenteringen i Sverige och Norge. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971.

World Armaments and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1972. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1972.

World Armaments and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1973. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1973.

World Armaments and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1974. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1974.

World Armaments and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1975. Stockholm: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1975.

The Writer in Modern Africa, ed. P. Wastberg. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1968.

Akerman, N., On the Doctrine of Limited War. Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1972.

Amark, K., Makt eller moral. Svensk offentlig debatt om internationell politik och svensk utrikes och forsvarspolitik 1938-1939. Stockholm: Allmanna forlaget, 1973. Summary in English.

APPENDIX

List of institutions mentioned in this survey

Uppsala

The Department of Political Science
Skytteanum
Box 514
S-751 20 UPPSALA

The Department of Sociology
Drottninggatan 1 A
S-752 20 UPPSALA

The Department of Peace and Conflict Research
Kungsgatan 37
Box 278
S-751 05 UPPSALA

The Department of East European Studies
Celsiusobservatoriet
Svartbacksgatan 7
S-753 20 UPPSALA

The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies
Box 2126
S-750 02 UPPSALA

Dag Hammarskjold Centre
Ovre Slottsgatan 2
S-752 20 UPPSALA

Lund

The Department of Political Science
Fack
S-220 05 LUND 5

The Department of Sociology
Fack
S-220 05 LUND

The Department of History
Magle St. Kyrkogatan 12 A
S-223 50 LUND

The Department of Peace and Conflict Research
Paradisgatan 5
S-223 50 LUND

Stockholm

The Department of Political Science
Fack
S-104 05 STOCKHOLM 50

The Department of History
Box 6404
S-113 82 STOCKHOLM 6

The Swedish Institute of International Affairs
Sveavagen 166
S-113 46 STOCKHOLM

The Secretariat for Security Politics and Long-Term Planning
Tegelbacken 4 II
Fack
S-103 20 STOCKHOLM 16

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
Sveavagen 166
S-113 46 STOCKHOLM

The Institute of Latin American Studies
Odengatan 61
Fack
S-102 30 STOCKHOLM 6

Gothenburg

The Department of Political Science
Fack
S-400 25 GOTEBORG

The Department of History
Bengt Lidnersgatan 7
S-412 56 GOTEBORG

The Department of Peace and Conflict Research
Viktoriagatan 30
S-411 25 GOTEBORG

Umea

The Department of Political Science
Umea Universitet
S-901 87 UMEA

THE NETHERLANDS

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Description of the Survey

This is a survey of international studies in the Netherlands.[1] The first question to be answered is: what is the definition of "international studies" used in this survey? This is part of the difficult problem of how scientific disciplines and areas of study should be most appropriately distinguished and ordered. These problems can never be satisfactorily and definitively solved, as the answers will change with the changing needs of society and the development of science. The problem becomes more complicated when one moves beyond mere discussion and tries to operationalize one's definitions in order to provide answers to questions like: does this or that belong to international studies as we understand them? "Should this research be included in this survey or not?" The issue is simplified as this particular survey does not deal with the work of individual researchers, but with institutionalized research within institutes and other centres of research. This reduces the number of items to be included and the range of borderline cases. The consequence, however, is that this survey does certainly not give a complete picture of research in the Netherlands in the field of international studies--however the field may be defined.

We come back to the question of the limitations of this survey in par. 1.3. For the purposes of this survey we divided the field of "international studies" into four categories:

(1) International studies in the narrow sense: These are brought together here under the label international relations and

---

The Netherlands
Philip P. Everts, Director of the Institute for International Studies, University of Leyden.

peace research and include studies and institutes dealing with the international system and the relations between its constituent parts, i.e., states, (international) organizations and other international institutions. They deal, in particular, with the conditions of change and stability, conflict and harmony, war and peace, within the international system. Two problem areas have been separated out from this general selection (categories 2 and 3).

(2) Studies of integration processes, in particular *European* integration: The disciplines involved here are primarily international law, the law of international organizations and economics. The rather surprising absence of studies by political scientists from this area--in the Netherlands--will be explained below.

(3) Development studies, both in their national and international setting: The main focus here is on economic development in the "Third World". Both approaches are combined in the institutions and studies which are brought under this heading. The disciplines involved are (international) economics and--to a lesser extent--political science and ("non-western") sociology.

(4) Area studies: This fourth category of studies and institutions is the most debatable. It concerns research organized not around one particular discipline or set of problems, but around a particular *geographic area*. It is debatable whether area studies should be included not because the legitimacy of organizing and institutionalising research around one particular area should be questioned (although there is some uneasiness about this as is illustrated by the fact that--in the Netherlands--"area studies" have not found a place in the university curriculum, which is still largely structured according to disciplines rather than according to problems or areas).

It is debatable for two reasons: (1) Because area studies happen to deal with problems outside our borders they are not really "international studies". We would not think of having a department or institute for "Dutch studies" or even "European studies". (The "European institutes" we have deal with the problems of integration, not with the large variety of studies, usually subsumed under the heading of "African" or "Asian" studies). Does anything of the kind exist in Africa or Asia? (2) By only including *institutions*, which can easily be brought under the heading "area studies", we do not cover the field. There are probably many individual researchers (although we do not know how many) who do relevant work in other disciplines and institutions (for instance in institutes of cultural anthropology which were to have been excluded from this survey).

With this "caveat" in mind we have decided to include these institutions.

1.2. Procedure

In February 1974 a short questionnaire was sent to about thirty institutions believed to fall within one of the categories of international studies outlined above. This report is based on the answers received, combined with information from other available sources.

Appendix A gives a description of each individual institute covered by the survey. Information is given on the composition of the staff, current and completed research, teaching programs, publications, library resources and finances.

Appendix B gives some information on institutions and areas not covered by this survey. A draft of this report was submitted to the institutions concerned to give them an opportunity to check and update the information given in the draft report. Insofar as they have responded the data given reflect the situation as of August, 1975.

Additional sources of information are described in section 5 of this survey (see p. 207).

1.3. Limitations of this survey

This survey suffers from a number of shortcomings. One obvious deficiency stems from non-response to our (repeated) enquiries. We have tried to fill this gap by gathering information from other sources (annual reports, etc.). Another shortcoming is a consequence of the decision to identify institutions rather than individual researchers. We have concentrated attention on international studies in their institutionalized and most visible form. But in so doing we excluded research being done elsewhere even if relevant to the field under review. How much we miss of the total "picture" is difficult to assess. We will come back to this in our final assessment.

Again in order not to broaden our concept of international studies too much, we have refrained from including institutions concerned with cultural anthropology, non-western sociology or social geography, where research is indeed sometimes concentrated on one particular area (though this is seldom the case) but where this geographical focus is not an explicit part of the aims of the institute in question. We have also excluded research on the United States, Eastern Europe and the USSR. In this case the reason was different; the Ford Foundation which commissioned this study had already undertaken separate surveys of this field of research. Finally we may simply have overlooked certain centres, either because of ignorance or because our definition was too narrow.

2. RESEARCH

2.1. Organization of international studies in the Netherlands

Most of the institutions listed in this survey are institutes, which in one way or another are connected with or form an integral part of one of the universities in the Netherlands. Some are independent institutions, while a few are so-called inter-university institutes, falling somewhere in between the two other groups.

Although we do not wish to discuss here the organization of scientific research in the Netherlands in general, the situation just mentioned for international studies reflects a general "philosophy" about the relationship between research and university teaching. There seems to be a general consensus that, in principle, there should be a very close connection between the two. On the one hand students should be able to take part in research projects, if only to acquire a number of technical skills, as part of their training. On the other hand it is felt that teachers should not merely "translate" the findings of others, but should take part in research themselves. We do find persons in the university who do very little or no research and concentrate on their teaching assignment, but they are rare. Younger members of the academic staff--who in most cases still have to write a doctoral thesis--are not always able to spend a considerable part of their time on research, although there is some general rule that they should have this possibility.

This principle is, however, increasingly undermined and challenged. One reason for this is the very rapid increase in the number of students in recent years. The increase in academic staff has lagged behind this growth. Measures are now being taken to restrict the number of new students admitted, although not without opposition, as it limits the right to the education of one's choice. As a result of this increase in the student-teacher ratio research in universities has diminished.

Not only has the amount of university research decreased, or at least not kept pace with the growth of the universities in absolute terms, it has also lost ground in relation to research undertaken outside the framework of the universities. This tendency is reinforced by researchers who promote the establishment of institutions and places, where one is not obliged to spend much time teaching and, more importantly, on administrative work and "endless meetings", made necessary by the recent democratisation of the university structure. This university reform abolished the outmoded structure, under which all the power was in the hands of the Academic Senate and the councils of full professors (and readers) at faculty level and replaced this by elected councils and committees at at least three levels (university, faculty and "vakgroep" (department). In addition there was widespread disappointment with the results of university-based research undertaken by the autonomous universities often in rather small departments, frequently badly organized and coordinated and scattered over too many different places. Dissatisfaction with the organization of research is further reinforced by the problem of increasing cost which makes the formation of more effective units necessary. It remains very difficult to plan scientific research within universities, which quite justifiably are anxious not to lose their freedom of action and autonomy.

Of course, one could imagine further differentiation and specialization among the universities as a way of creating more effective units. But this is hampered, not only by the usual rivalries between universities, but also by the lack of mobility of students (and staff). Remarkable as this may seem in a small country like the Netherlands, it is still unusual for students and academic staff to move from one university to another or to take part of their teaching elsewhere. Hence each university wishes to offer as full a programme as possible with the concomitant splintering of research. Although the number of students still basically determines the number of academic staff posts which in turn provide research facilities, this pattern can and is sometimes adjusted by attracting financial support from non-university sources (see below, par. 2.2). Departments with good research to their credit and which have been able to expand in the past attract more students. Thus universities have been able to some extent to specialize in certain fields. The only sector of international studies where some concentration and a certain division of labour was realized has been area studies and related linguistics.

Some basic trends and patterns can be distinguished in the field of international studies. These exemplify the general remarks made above. We will deal with this in greater detail in the various sections of the report. We can just mention here that the general research picture is one of dispersion over a rather large number of relatively small university institutions, closely tied to teaching activities with a tendency to establish new centres, either by cooperation between universities or outside the university framework.

Finally we should add that the designation "instituut" is somewhat unclear. Its meaning varies from university to university; it can refer to various kinds of autonomous units within the university framework, or to the material infrastructure (building, library, research organization) at the service of one or more "vakgroepen". The meaning of the word has become even more confused because of the recent reforms in university organization. We do not intend to go into detail, but note that the absence of the designation "institute" does not imply that there is no institutionalized unit of research or, vice versa, that there is one, when the word is used.

2.2. Financing of research

Financing of research in international studies in the Netherlands takes various forms. The most common one is financing through the regular budget of the universities, which for all practical purposes is funded 100% by the national government. This applies also to the municipal university of Amsterdam and the "private" universities in Amsterdam, Nijmegen and Tilburg. The non-university institutions (5, 6, 12, 15, 18 and 22)[2] as well as the inter-university institutes (19 and 22) are also financed (with very few exceptions) from government sources. Secondly there is the possibility of funding through grants from the (government-financed) Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO) and its affiliate Foundation for Research in the Tropics (WOTRO). Though ZWO is primarily engaged in financing pure research in the natural and medical sciences, it also supports (applied) research in the social sciences (however, less than 5% of its budget, or about DFl. 5.000.000 annually, is spent on the latter).[3] In the framework of the development of national research policy there is a growing tendency to finance research through this "indirect channel" rather than directly from university budgets.

Finally, research is sometimes financed in other ways (research budgets of other ministries, international organizations or foreign foundations). In this connection we should mention the programme of university-cooperation in the field of development. This programme, financed from the state budget for development cooperation and administered through Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation (NUFFIC) (see below, par. 5) provides funds for development research and training projects in which universities in the Netherlands cooperate with universities and other centres in developing countries. Private foundations supporting research hardly exist in the Netherlands. Due to lack of data it is impossible to give even a very rough estimate of the amount and origin of money spent on research in international studies.

After a period of rapid university expansion, the increase in academic personnel now severely lags behind the increase in the number of students. This pressure on research is reinforced by the policy of the present government to give priority to primary (and secondary) education with a concomitant squeeze on the universities. No substantial expansion of university budgets is anticipated in the foreseeable future beyond some inflationary adjustments.

2.3. Assessment

We now come to the central part of this brief survey, i.e., an assessment of the current state of affairs in international studies. Before making any observation I would like to stress that my knowledge does not stretch very far beyond international studies proper, that is, international studies of the first of the four groups discussed above. I am on much weaker ground in the areas 2 and 3, while I must admit to having only a very limited knowledge of area studies. This makes me hesitate to go into any detail in these fields, and my comments will be those of a relative outsider.

A few general remarks should be made on the state of affairs in international studies in general. The picture as it emerges from the data presented in Appendix A is one of a relatively large number of relatively small institutes. Only in about one third of the cases does the research staff exceed ten persons. Institutes with over twenty research members are an exception. Most institutes therefore lack either the means or the continuity for a coordinated research policy. Ongoing research is scattered over a variety of subjects and institutes. Some institutes have achieved a certain multidisciplinarity in the composition of their staff, but there are few examples of truly multidisciplinary, let alone interdisciplinary, research projects, involving more than two disciplines. Although, on a personal level, contacts between members of the research community are quite extensive, since they meet each other regularly in various capacities, there is little institutionalized cooperation between institutes. We came across only a few instances of such cooperative ventures. One reason for this is the traditional lack of mobility between universities and the desire for autonomy. Another is the fact that ongoing research is, to a considerable extent, dissertation research of younger research fellows, which "in the best traditions" of the social sciences is still very much a "one-man-show".

It is to be hoped and expected that the increasing pressure on research due to the increase in students, the rising costs of research and the cut-back on university spending will lead to more cooperation and a better and more productive use of available resources. We should point out, however, that these remarks do not necessarily apply to the whole field of international studies. In some fields, such as the institutes specializing in specific areas, possibilities for cooperation hardly exist. Some institutes have also been more successful in drawing up a consistent and well-defined research program than others.

2.3.1. International relations and peace research

Like in other countries of Western Europe, international relations in the Netherlands were traditionally part of the disciplines of (diplomatic) history and international law. In the latter field there has always been a rather strong tradition in the Netherlands, partly due to the traditional moralistic abhorrence of power politics and the belief in an international legal order, typical for a small country with worldwide commercial interests. It is this tradition that gave birth, in 1945, to the Netherlands Institute of International Affairs (5), which, however, gradually oriented its interests and program toward the more modern disciplines. With the establishment of departments for political science, mostly within the faculties of social science which came into being in the postwar period, political science has, to a certain extent, replaced this emphasis on the legal and historical approach.

One distinctive feature of international studies in the Netherlands has been the development of peace research[4] and its institutionalization in different institutes. The origins of peace research go back to the post World War I period, when the idealistic tradition in international relations studies came into being. Peace research as it originated in the late fifties and early sixties in the US and North Western Europe was a reaction against the prevalent mode of international relations studies, which were said to be subservient to the existing power relationships and undertaken too much from the national perspective of the respective nation-states. Peace research should, it was and is said, be undertaken from an internationalist perspective and should be oriented toward the application of the methods of scientific analysis to problems of war and peace in order to promote peace. The definition of peace research, especially the difference between peace research and international relations research is a much debated and very confused subject. I do not wish to pursue this debate here, especially not since the debate forms part of the "grand debat" concerning the social sciences in general. It seems to me that one of the reasons why the debate is so confused is that there are several "dimensions" involved, and they are not always properly distinguished. These dimensions are related to the definition of the subject, the proper methodology, the value-orientation of the researcher, his conception of the relation between science and politics and the main focus of interest.[5] Whether a researcher considers himself a peace researcher and whether he in fact belongs to that particular field and mode of research therefore depends on many factors and is often a matter of subjective judgment. The situation has become more complicated because many of the innovations brought about by the peace research approach are now being incorporated in international relations research in the more traditional sense. This at least is true for the Netherlands. In the Netherlands peace research was first introduced by B. V. A. Roling, who in 1962 established the Polemologisch Instituut of the University of Groningen (4). Since then other universities have followed either by setting up new institutes (Nijmegen [8], Tilburg [9]), by bringing together researchers from various disciplines (7) or just by shifting the focus of their attention (1, 2, 3).

The peace research "movement" has always been characterized, at least in the Netherlands, by a deliberate effort to combine scientific with educational and political work in different forms, varying from directly advising the government to working through mass-media and in the peace-movement. This has, some would say, sometimes led to a relative neglect of the more central task, i.e. to do research. This orientation toward practical problems has very much determined the research undertaken, directing it toward foreign policy problems and the foreign policy process or toward the societal conditions and the implementation of new insights in the area of war and peace (educational programmes, conditions of change, etc.). Other foci of interest, according to our survey, were: problems of armament and disarmament, strategic questions, international integration (NATO en EEC), the role of the Netherlands in international organizations, East-West relations, internal influences on and democratic control of policy in international politics.

Two changes are also apparent in research in the Netherlands. One is the shift in interest away from the East-West confrontation and from "symmetrical" relations between states toward relations between states and groups of unequal status. The other is the shift from the international to the domestic scene. This is, it seems to me, partly caused by a real change in interest, and partly by a new awareness of the linkages between "domestic" and "international" processes and of the role of non-state actors in international politics. As such there is not so much a shift in interest as in focus and conceptualization.

Finally, one sees a broadening of the concepts "peace and security" with the attendant interest in other factors threatening security and well-being, such as pollution, scarcity and increased economic tensions. In this report it seems good to point to the extraordinary interest among the public at large in publications such as the reports of the "Club of Rome" (250.000 copies of a translation of the first report were sold in the Netherlands). Research projects in this new field are beginning to take shape. An international group, under the direction of Professor J. Tinbergen, is reviewing the international order (RIO-project).

The Polemologisch Instituut (University of Groningen) (4) while suffering for some time from a lack of coordination and structure in its research, now has a number of projects going. A large number of individuals are connected with these projects in various capacities. The J. F. Kennedy-Institute (Tilburg University) (9) has succeeded in sponsoring a number of well-organized international conferences and seminars. Efforts to develop coordinated and collective projects are being made at Leiden (7) and Amsterdam (1, 2).

Finally, a word about the Nederlands Instituut voor Vredesvraagstukken (6). It is a relatively unique effort of cooperation between ministries, the scientific community and the peace movement in establishing a well-equipped centre for the study of concrete problems rather than traditional research, to advise government and to provide education and information to the public at large through its publications and other media.

2.3.2. European studies

Research on problems of international, especially European, integration has been singled out from the general category of international studies, discussed in the preceding paragraph, not only because it is characterized by its legal and economic orientation but also for another reason. Most of the research in general international studies is theoretical and has limited practical significance or policy relevance. It is undertaken by relative "outsiders" (persons, who, by and large, are not part of the policy-making community, or are members of the "intellectual opposition"). In the field of international integration, on the other hand, there are usually close contacts between "theorists" and "practitioners." The three major European Institutes of the universities of Amsterdam (10), Leiden (11) and Utrecht (12), and the smaller centres at some of the other universities, do have close relations with governmental and international institutions. They represent an independent intellectual resource, which serves a number of much needed functions: gives legal advice on particular questions, documents important developments and provides the theoretical basis for the discussion of concrete policy problems.

These institutes give a lot of attention to post-graduate training of lawyers and civil servants working on integration problems. The approach--to put it briefly but perhaps with some exaggeration--is technical rather than ideological. This is probably due to the still almost complete consensus in the Netherlands on the necessity and desirability of European integration. General international studies, on the other hand, tend to question the premises and processes of international politics.

Much of the research undertaken by the institutes mentioned above is in the form of individual dissertations--which are difficult to classify. Yet some major themes emerge: the relationship between European Community legislation and (Dutch) domestic law, legislation concerning economic competition (Leiden), socio-economic law (Utrecht), and economic problems (trade flows, EEC and Africa, monetary integration) (Amsterdam).

2.3.3. Development studies

The problems of the developing countries, relations between rich and poor, dominant and dominated are also studied in the centres discussed in the two preceding paragraphs (e.g., (structural) violence and development, the EEC and Africa). And, although it could be said that much of the research in the institutes for area studies relate to development studies, it seems justified to bring together in one separate group those centres and topics of research, which deal with the problem of (economic and social) development in the Third World. The largest centre concentrating on these problems is the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague (16). Though primarily a teaching institution for students from developing countries it has produced a large number of studies, which can be classified according to the four "workshops" which together form the institute: Development Planning, Power Distribution in Development Processes (stressing the interconnection of international power relationships, internal power relationships and underdevelopment), Social Organization and Development,and Development Administration. The other major centres are: Rotterdam (18), Tilburg (19), Amsterdam, Municipal University (13) and Free University (14) more or less in that order of importance. The first, the Centrum voor Ontwikkelingsprogrammering (18), formerly under the stimulating direction of Professor J. Tinbergen, concentrates on the various aspects of economic and social planning. ISMOG in Amsterdam (13) pays special attention to research on investment-projects. IVO in Tilburg (19) is concentrating on research on the development process in Peru and has done important work evaluating the Dutch foreign aid programme and on the role of religious groups both in the developing and in the developed countries. This is to some extent an example of research on long-neglected aspects of the development process: the resistance to reform in the developed countries and the (potentially) negative forces at work there. Closely connected with this approach is the work of the new Derde Wereld Centrum, Nijmegen (17). Finally we should mention the social science research undertaken at the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam (15) and the predominantly agricultural oriented work on development problems at the Agricultural University in Wageningen.

2.3.4. Area studies

As pointed out above, it is somewhat parochial and arbitrary to bring area studies under the heading "international studies." They are difficult to classify because the geographic distinction cuts across all the disciplines and problem areas. We should stress once again that our survey is rather incomplete in this sector since much of the institutional work, (e.g. in the institutes for cultural anthropology) is not organized according to areas.[6]

Contrary to research in other sectors, research on geographic areas is largely concentrated in two universities. In Leiden: China (27), South Asia (28) and Japan and, if we include the non-university institutes closely connected with the university, Africa (22), Indonesia and the Caribbean (former colonies) (21) and the Middle East (25). In Amsterdam (Municipal University): Latin America (26), the Modern Middle East (24) and South and South East Asia (20 and 23).

The *Afrika Studiecentrum* (22) and the *Interuniversitair Centrum voor Studie en Dokumentatie van Latijns Amerika* in Amsterdam (CEDLA) (26) are fairly well developed, notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, the absence of scientific tradition in the studies of these areas (the ASC has, however, taken up the Leiden's traditional interest in traditional law--which goes back to the colonial era). In these institutes the majority of the staff are social scientists. The other institutions in this group work more directly in the more "traditional" ethnologic-linguistic and historical-cultural tradition, though they do take into account the "modern," i.e. economic, political and social aspects of their respective areas.

Of the institutes included in this section the *Afrika Studiecentrum* (22) has the most extensive research programme, organized on an interdisciplinary basis around a few problem-areas. The *Anthropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum* in Amsterdam (20), which until recently was under the direction of Professor Wertheim, has concentrated on sociological and anthropological aspects of South and South East Asia and has a considerable number of research projects completed or in progress.

The main strength of the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (21) (KITLV) (Indonesia and the Caribbean), the *Sinologisch Instituut/Dokumentatiecentrum voor het Huidige China* (28) (China) and the *Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten* (25), all in Leiden, rests in their very good collection of books and other resource materials, while *CEDLA* (26) (Latin American Studies) has--it seems--established itself in particular as an inter-university centre with intensive contacts abroad and emphasis on the exchange of information and coordination of research.

3. TEACHING

3.1. The Organisation of University Teaching

Before entering into a discussion on the teaching programmes and courses offered in international studies, it may be helpful to describe briefly the system of university education in the Netherlands as background for the specific information on the teaching of international studies.

The university education system is governed by the Academic Statute, which sets uniform rules for all the universities, both public and private. It contains regulations on obligatory and optional elements of study in each field, on examinations and grades. These provide a fairly narrow framework in which the universities have to operate. In principle therefore, the level of teaching and the requirements are similar in all the universities. In practice there may be variations in the quality of the faculty and in the degree of possible specialisation.

The average university course takes about 5-6 years of full-time study--at least in the faculties under review here: law, social science, and economics. In the past the doctorate was the usual crowning glory of university education. Today, only a limited number of students write a doctoral thesis. It is--for all practical purposes--only required of those who wish to pursue an academic career. The others finish with the "doctoraal-examen," providing the title of "meester" (Mr.) in the faculty of law and "doctorandus" (Drs.) in most other faculties.

The curriculum is divided into two parts, leading up to two major examinations: the "kandidaats-examen" after 2-3 years and the "doctoraal-examen" after three more years of study. The "kandidaats-examen" has no special status in society. It is only an intermediate step. The curriculum in this first part is a general introduction to the subject, with very limited room for optional courses, while the program at doctoraal level allows some degree of specialization. The curriculum at the doctoraal level includes one or two major subjects, and a number of minor ones, including one or two optionals, making it possible for students to adapt their programmes to their individual wishes. The international study programmes discussed in this survey are all at this level.[7] The programme normally envisages 5-6 years of study, but the actual study period averages 7 years.

Basic university reforms are now being discussed. The new law would provide for a curriculum of only four years. The first year would be a "propaedeutic" year, leading up to an examination, mainly to determine the student's qualifications for further study and his chances of successfully completing his studies. The "kandidaats-examen" would be abolished. Since this reduced programme would leave less room for students to take part in research, the reform also envisages a limited number of research assistantships for those, who after graduation, wish to acquire research training leading up to a doctorate. As can be imagined this rather drastic change has engendered fierce discussions. The possibility of accomplishing fully fledged studies in four years is questioned, and the fear is expressed that students will not be able to take subjects of interest outside their main commitments and that research will be considerably reduced.

There are very few post-graduate courses for those who have passed a doctoraal-examen. These will be mentioned in the section dealing with the various sectors of international studies.

3.2. Teaching programmes

Teaching programmes of the various institutes and faculties are briefly described under the individual institutions, listed in Appendix A. The data given are brought together here under the four main headings used in this report.

3.2.1. International relations/peace research

Courses of international relations and/or peace research form an obligatory part of the political science program. There are at present four universities with full-fledged departments of political science. International relations usually form part of both the kandidaats and the doctoraal program in these departments (except in Leiden, which so far only has a doctoraal program) (1, 3, 7, 8). These departments also offer a specialization in international studies/peace research. In addition chairs for international relations do exist in most other universities, usually within the departments of law (which exist in all the universities in the Netherlands). These law faculties also provide teaching programs (courses and seminars) in international law, not covered by this survey. The most extensive programme in peace research is offered by the Polemologisch Instituut in Groningen (4), where students of various faculties can take peace research as a minor or major optional field.

The only post-doctoral programs on international relations in the Netherlands are organized by the Nederlands Genootschap voor Internationale Zaken (5) (NGIZ), jointly with the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation (NUFFIC). Two post-graduate courses are given annually: one for mid-career civil servants and university graduates (three months), and one for foreign-service trainees and officers of the Naval Staff College (four and a half months).

3.2.2. European studies

The institutes for European studies in Amsterdam, Leiden and Utrecht (10, 11, 12) offer the most extensive programmes in the field of European integration. International law and economics are the major elements in these courses with much less importance given to political science. In addition courses on the law of international organizations and the law of the European Communities are offered by most of the other faculties of law, either as part of international law or by special, small, departments for European law. The Kennedy-Institute in Tilburg (9) also has an extensive program in the area of international integration and problems of the European communities.

The three institutes in Amsterdam, Leiden and Utrecht also offer post-graduate training. The international summer course on legal aspects of European integration and the international course on European integration (sponsored by NUFFIC) of the Europa-Istituut in Amsterdam (22) should be especially mentioned in this context.

3.2.3. Development studies

Institutes concerned with the (economic) problems of developing countries and international cooperation for development exist in Amsterdam (13, 14, 15), Nijmegen (17), Rotterdam (18) and Tilburg (19). They all provide a program of courses for students who select this field as a minor subject or as doctoraal specialization in economics or non-western sociology. In addition courses on the problems of economic development are given at the Universities of Groningen and Leiden, while the department for development economics at the Agricultural School in Wageningen gives courses on agrarian problems. International economics in a wider sense are a part of the curriculum of the faculties of economics of Amsterdam, the Free University, Groningen, Rotterdam and Tilburg. The Institute of Social Studies in The Hague (16) has a unique position in this context. It is an institute, with a number of programs and courses, mainly for post-graduates and civil servants from developing countries, all dealing with various aspects of development.

3.2.4. Area studies

As pointed out before, area studies "as such" do not easily find a place in the Dutch system of university and curriculum organization, which is based on faculties and sub-faculties, organized by disciplines. Some faculties, however, e.g. cultural anthropology and political science, sometimes allow for regional specialization. Another way of specializing in a particular area is through the traditional language-cum-history approach found in the departments for non-western languages and cultures in the Faculty of Letters. In the Netherlands these are mainly concentrated, by tradition and by deliberate decision, in the universities of Amsterdam (Municipal University) and Leiden. The tradition of non-western linguistics is particularly well developed in Leiden (Chinese and Japanese, African languages, Indonesian languages, Islamic studies and the respective cultures and art). Some of these centres have widened their sphere of interest and provide general courses on their area (27, 28). CEDLA in Amsterdam (26) gives a course in Latin American studies for students from different universities, the Afrika-Studiecentrum (22) is considering a similar course, as is the KITLV (21) on Indonesia and the Instituut Kern (27) on South Asia. All these courses can or could be taken as minor subjects at the *doctoraal* level.

4. LIBRARY RESOURCES

The library resources of the various universities and institutes vary considerably, depending on the organization of the library (degree of [de-]centralization), the age of the institution and other factors.

In the field of international relations proper most institutes have relatively small collections (by Dutch standards). Good to fairly good collections are available at the institutes for European studies in Amsterdam (10), Utrecht (12) and Leiden (11). The latter is part of the library of the Institute of International Studies (7). Institutes in or near The Hague can draw upon the very good collections of the Library of the Peace Palace in The Hague (International Court of Justice) particularly in the field of international law, and on the Royal Library (general library), which is also in The Hague.

In area studies, the collections of the *Centre for Chinese Studies* (27) and the *KITLV* (21) (concentrating on the former colonies in the East and West Indies) as well as the library of the *Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten*, Leiden (25) are outstanding and in many respects unique. The library of the *Afrika-Studiecentrum* (22) is relatively well off compared with the other centres in the same category (20, 23, 24).

The Institute of Social Studies (16) and the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (15) have a good collection on the problems of developing countries.

5. OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Some steps have recently been taken in order to achieve a more integrated, better coordinated and less scattered programme of research. Some of these were mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.[8] In 1972 another step was taken to promote and stimulate coordinated studies. NUFFIC (see below) took the initiative to establish, under its sponsorship, the Instituut voor Maatschappij-Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek in Ontwikkelingslanden (IMWOO)--a centre for information and coordination of social science research on developing countries, undertaken by institutes and scholars in the Netherlands. Its aims are:

- to establish an efficient documentation and information centre
- to contribute to the application of coordinated research policy.

These tasks will be carried out in the following ways:

- stimulating of research programmes
- maintaining contacts between individual researchers and research institutes in the Netherlands and abroad
- coordinating research priorities and negotiating subsidies with ministries, the Foundation for Tropical Research (WOTRO) and international foundations
- gathering data on social science research undertaken by Netherlands' scholars in the developing countries.

IMWOO is building up documentation files, organized by area, individual researchers and institutes. It publishes a small information bulletin.

NUFFIC was established in 1952 by the Dutch universities to promote cooperation between universities in the Netherlands and abroad, especially with regard to developing countries, and to organize international education programmes at university level in this field.[9]

Thus it initiated the establishment of the Institute of Social Studies (16), which later became an independent body. Today it organizes, sponsors or is otherwise involved in 18 courses of varying duration for foreign students. They cover a wide variety of subjects, including post-graduate courses in the field under review, given by NIGZ (5) and the Europa-Instituut, Amsterdam (10) referred to above.

NUFFIC also administers university cooperation in the field of development, financed from the foreign aid budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Since 1962 NUFFIC organizes annually two or three interdisciplinary courses at different universities on the problems of developing countries. These courses are gradually being integrated into the normal university curricula.

Finally, NUFFIC maintains a documentation centre on university education and research in the Netherlands and abroad. It publishes a journal, *Higher Education and Research in the Netherlands*, for foreign readers and a monthly *Overzicht* providing information on university and other activities related to development problems.

Since a number of other sources exist[10] and it does not seem logical to incorporate such a wide field in one bibliography, we have decided not to draw up a full bibliography for this survey. The entries on individual institutions in Appendix A contain references to their recent and important publications.

Finally we should mention the *Sociaal-Wetenschappelijk Informatie- en Dokumentatiecentrum* (social science information and documentation centre) of de *Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* (Royal Academy of Sciences). It publishes a series of (annual) bibliographies, covering the whole field of the social sciences, including the area under review. These publications, though always somewhat out of date and incomplete, are useful and should be consulted for more detailed information on ongoing individual research projects in specific areas.[11]

6. NOTES

1. This survey was undertaken at the request of the Ford Foundation in a series of pilot studies on international studies in Western European countries.

The author--Director of the Institute for International Studies, University of Leyden--wishes to thank all those who provided data and other forms of assistance.

2. The figures in brackets refer to the numbers given to each institute included in Appendix A.

3. Source: *Jaarboek ZWO*, 1974. This "Jaarboek" gives all the relevant information on research supported by ZWO in the preceding year.

4. Or "polemologie" as it is usually called in the Netherlands. The term, introduced by Gaston Bouthoul in France, has, however, not caught on internationally.

5. See on this question Philip P. Everts, Developments and Trends in Peace and Conflict Research, 1965-1971, A Survey of Institutions, in: "Peace Research in Transition: A Symposium," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 16 (1972), 4, 477-510 and also in: *International Repertory of Institutions for Peace and Conflict Research*, Paris, UNESCO, 1973.

6. See *Current Anthropology in the Netherlands*, edited by Peter Kloos and Henri J. M. Claessen, available at the Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, The Hague, 1975, and Appendix B for further information.

7. Except in the field of political science, where international relations is also taught at the *kandidaats* level.

8. An example of such an effort is the survey of studies on the Caribbean area (former Dutch West Indies) by C. M. H. Mevis of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (1974).

9. NUFFIC is housed at the same address as IMWOO: Molenstraat 27, Den Haag. Data are drawn from its *Annual Report* (in English).

10. An annual bibliography of publications by Dutch political scientists and related research was published until 1974 in *Acta Politica*.

A bibliography on Dutch foreign policy is V. S. E. Falger, *Bibliografie van de Nederlandse Buitenlandse Politiek na 1945*, Seminarium voor Volkenrecht en Internationale Betrekkingen, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1975.

NEDO Abstracts, published by Nederlands Dokumentatiecentrum voor Ontwikkelingslanden of the Central Library of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (15) contains abstracts of all Dutch publications on development problems and area studies.

11. Its series of annual publications includes: *Register van lopend onderzoek in de sociale wetenschappen* (current social science research), *Bibliografie sociaal-wetenschappelijk onderzoek* (bibliography of social science research) and *Dissertaties maatschappij-wetenschappen* (doctoral theses, in the social sciences, in preparation and completed).

It also published: *Wegwijzer maatschappij-wetenschappen: bibliotheken en dokumentatie-instellingen* (1971) (a guide to libraries and documentation centres in the social sciences).

Address: Kloveniersburgwal 29, Amsterdam.

APPENDIX A: Institutions included in this survey

1. Institut voor Wetenschap der Politiek, Afdeling Internationale Betrekkingen -- Amsterdam
2. Seminarium voor Volkenrecht en Internationale Betrekkingen -- Amsterdam
3. Sociaal Wetenschappelijk Instituut, Afdeling Internationale Betrekkingen -- Amsterdam
4. Polemologisch Instituut -- Groningen
5. Nederlands Genootschap voor Internationale Zaken (NGIZ) -- Den Haag
6. Nederlands Instituut voor Vredesvraagstukken (NIVV) -- Den Haag
7. Instituut voor Internationale Studien (I.I.S.) -- Leiden
8. Instituut voor Politikologie/Studiecentrum voor Vredesvraagstukken -- Nijmegen
9. John F. Kennedy-Instituut -- Tilburg
10. Europa-Instituut -- Amsterdam
11. Europa-Instituut -- Leiden
12. Europa-Instituut -- Utrecht
13. Instituut voor Sociaal-Ekonomische Studie van Minderontwikkelde Gebieden (ISMOG) -- Amsterdam
14. Afdeling Ontwikkelingsekonomie, Ekonomische Fakulteit -- Amsterdam
15. Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, afdeling Sociaal Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (K.I.T.) -- Amsterdam

16. Institute of Social Studies

17. Derde Wereldcentrum -- Nijmegen

18. Centrum voor Ontwikkelingsprogrammering -- Rotterdam

19. Instituut voor Ontwikkelingsvraagstukken (I.V.O.) -- Tilburg

20. Antropologisch Sociologisch Centrum (A.S.C.) -- Amsterdam

21. Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) -- Leiden

22. Afrika Studiecentrum -- Leiden

23. Instituut voor Moderne Aziatische Geschiedenis -- Amsterdam

24. Instituut voor het Moderne Nabije Oosten (IMNO) -- Amsterdam

25. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten-- Leiden

26. Interuniversitair Centrum voor Studie en Dokumentatie van Latijns-Amerika (CEDLA) -- Amsterdam

27. Instituut Kern (South Asia), Indologisch Instituut -- Leiden

28. Sinologisch Instituut/Studiecentrum voor het huidige China -- Leiden

1. AFDELING INTERNATIONALE BETREKKINGEN - INSTITUUT VOOR WETENSCHAP DER POLITIEK - UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM (Department of International Relations - Institute for Political Science - University of Amsterdam)

Address: Herengracht 510, Amsterdam

Director: Prof. Dr. P. R. Baehr

Characteristics: The Department is a part of the Institute for political science, of the Faculty of (political and) Social Sciences

Staff: full-time research associates, 5; part-time (students), 3

Completed research:
- the EEC and the Third World
- participation in National Election Surveys 1971 and 1972

Current research:
- a major research project on domestic influences on Dutch foreign policy with a number of case-studies (with the University of Leyden)
- theories of the arms race
- multinational business enterprises
- analysis of data of the national election surveys 1971 and 1972

Teaching:
at the "kandidaats" level:
- introduction to international relations

at the "doctoraal" level:
- international relations
- seminars on: armament and disarmament 1945-1972
  development aid and political ties
  the origins of the EEC (1974/75)

Publications:
The department does not have its own publication series.
Recent publications by P. R. Baehr:
- *De studie van de buitenlandse politiek, toegang tot de nationale betrekkingen*, Meppel, 1970 (on the study of foreign policy)
- *The role of a national delegation in the General Assembly*, New York, 1971, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

- Parliamentary control over foreign policy in the Netherlands, *Government and Opposition*, spring 1974
- The foreign policy of the Netherlands, in: R. P. Barston (ed.), *The other powers: studies in the foreign policies of small states*, London, 1973

Library:
The department library is part of the library of the Institute for Political Science (4500 books).

2. SEMINARIUM VOOR VOLKENRECHT EN INTERNATIONALE BETREKKINGEN, UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM
(Department of international law and international relations, University of Amsterdam)

Address: Herengracht 508, Amsterdam

Director: Prof. Dr. A. J. P. Tammes

Characteristics: The department is a part of the Faculty of law, University of Amsterdam. International relations is only a minor part of its research and teaching activities.

Staff: (international relations only) full-time researcher, 1; research student, 1

Research: Dutch foreign policy in the field of strategic and armaments questions, especially the role of the "American nuclear guarantee."

Teaching: Course and seminars in international relations.

Publications: No regular publications.

Library: The library of the institute is combined with the library of the Europa-instituut (see p. 226) and specializes in international law (human rights). It includes some 1000 books on international relations. It acts as depository library for UN--and ILO--documents.

Finances: Financed by the university. No data on budget available.

Individual publications:
Wedloop in kernbewapening, Den Haag, 1972 (on the nuclear arms race) a number of articles were published in Internationale Spectator and other journals on the following subjects:

- Factfinding in international conflicts
- Problems of nuclear (non-) proliferation
- Dutch foreign policy in the field of nuclear strategy, non-proliferation and arms control
- From international to transnational politics

3. AFDELING INTERNATIONALE BETREKKINGEN - SOCIAAL WETENSCHAPPELIJK INSTITUUT - VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM (Department of International Relations - Institute for the Social Sciences, Free University of Amsterdam)

Address: Koningslaan 31-33, Amsterdam

Director: Prof. Dr. G. Kuypers (head)

Characteristics: The department undertakes research and provides courses in international relations and peace research within the Free (Calvinist) University of Amsterdam

Staff: full-time research staff, 5; part-time staff, 2

Current Research:
individual research projects:

- strategy and tactics in politics
- East-West culture
- Eastern European studies

Teaching:
Courses and seminars in international relations and peace research are given at doctoraal level.

Publications:
No own publication series. Dissertation research is published in book form.

Library:
The library of the Institute for Social Sciences contains about 35.000 volumes, of which some 5000 deal with International Relations.

4. POLEMOLOGISCH INSTITUUT -- RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN (Institute for Peace Research, University of Groningen)

Address: Rijksstraatweg 76, Haren (Gr.).

Director: Prof. Dr. B. V. A. Roling, Professor of International Law and Polemology (peace research)

Characteristics: The institute is a research institute of the university, which hopes to contribute to the promotion of peace through greater knowledge of problems of war and peace. Hence an important part of its work is devoted to peace-promoting activities (peace education-project) and to advisory functions (two staff members serve on the Government Advisory Committee on Disarmament, Security and Peace). It gives courses in polemology at the university and members of the staff also teach elsewhere (see below).

Staff: Full-time research staff, 10; other full-time researchers, 5; part-time researchers, 20; students participating in research projects, 35; secretarial staff, 2.

Current research:

- the significance of international law for the maintenance of peace (results published in: Roling, 1973 (see below)
- poverty and development as causes of conflict (results published in: Verwey, 1972 [see below])
- the legal meaning of structural violence
- the legal position of chemical and biological weapons
- technological developments in armaments and their political and strategic implications
- the role of multinational corporations in arms production
- the history of the arms race
- problems of European security
- the significance of "the military mind" in decision making
- changes in communication processes (based on simulation studies)
- psychological aspects of armament-processes
- basic factors in the theory of international relations
- possibilities and effect of peace education: development of teaching materials for secondary schools
- theory of aggression
- social defence and nonviolent action
- simulation studies in international relations

Teaching: Lectures and seminars in various forms:
- a general introductory course, and *capita selecta*
- special courses for students in: chemistry, physics, medicine

Members of the staff also give occasional courses at other universities: Bonn and Berlin (Germany), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and other institutes of higher education in the Netherlands (Groningen and Amsterdam).

Publications: Only the major publications are mentioned here. A complete list of publications is given in the annual *Jaarboek van de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen*, 1962- (published by Van Gorcum, Assen). The institute publishes its own book series *Polemologische Studien*, 16 vols. so far (collections of lectures, translations, original studies), including:
- W. F. Duisenberg, *Economische gevolgen van ontwapening*, 1965 (Economic consequences of disarmament).
- C. V. Lafeber, *Nieuw-Guineasen de Volkskrant*, 1968 (A case study of the attitude of the newspaper Volkskrant on the New Guinea conflict).
- J. van den Doel, *Konvergentie en evolutie*, 1971 (On the theory of convergence).
- F. C. Spits, *De matamorfose van der oorlog in de 18e en 19e eeuw*, 1971 (On the metamorphosis of war in the 18th and 19th century).
- W. D. Verwey, *Economic development, peace and international law*, 1972.
- H. W. Tromp (ed.), *Kritische polemologie*, 1973 (On "critical peace research").
- H. W. Tromp, *De Navo-staarders*, Amsterdam, 1974.
- H. de Lange, *Het moderne oorlogssysteem en de vrede?*, Bloemendaal, 1975.

Other publications (by B. V. A. Roling):
- *Polemologie, een inleiding in de wetenschap van oorlog en vrede*, 3rd ed., Assen, 1973 (introduction to peace research)
- *Over oorlog en vrede*, 3rd ed., Amsterdam, 1970 (on war and peace).
- *Volkenrecht en vrede*, Deventer, 1973 (published in English under the title "International Law and the Maintenance of Peace," in: *Netherlands Yearbook of International Law*, 1973, pp. 1-103).

Library: The institute houses a specialized library, containing about 6,000 books and 100 periodicals on international politics and problems of war and peace.

Finances: Annual budget: approx. Dfl. 600,000. Source: 90% university, 10% other sources.

5. NEDERLANDS GENOOTSCHAP VOOR INTERNATIONALE ZAKEN (NGIZ) -- DEN HAAG (Netherlands Institute of International Affairs, The Hague)

Address: Alexanderstraat 2, Den Haag.

Director: J. L. Heldring.

Characteristics: The NGIZ is an independent, non-political institution, founded in 1945, the aim of which is:
- to stimulate the study of international problems,
- to stimulate the formation of public opinion on international affairs,
- to inform people abroad about Dutch opinions on international affairs.

Staff: Staff (incl. administration), 14

Current and completed research: The institute concentrates its research on problems of European security and the foreign policy of the Netherlands.
- American-Soviet bilateralism and the CESC.
- Reduction of forces in Central Europe.
- Interplay between MIRV's and ABM's.
- Simulations in international affairs.
- South Africa's foreign policy.
- Security in Europe: a bibliography.
- Limits to European integration.
- Relationship between Atlantic and European unity.
- Constants in Dutch foreign policy.
- Ethics and foreign policy.

Teaching: Twice a year the institute organizes, with financial support from the Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation (NUFFIC), a post-graduate course on international relations. One course lasts three months (March-June). Lectures: five days a week. Students can choose to follow foreign-language lessons at the NUFFIC language laboratory. Participants are mainly graduate students and younger civil servants. Student body: fifteen to twenty. The second course, lasting four and a half months (September-February), is attended by foreign-service trainees and aspiring Naval Staff officers as obligatory part of their professional training. Lectures: five days a week. Student body: thirty.

Lectures: The institute regularly organizes lectures and discussion meetings for its members, sometimes in cooperation with other institutes.

Publications: Monthly journal Internationale Spectator (together with the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Brussels). Included in the journal are four special issues on Eastern Europe and four on development problems. The institute also publishes Wereldwijzer, excerpts from the foreign press and important journals (five issues per week).

Books: Recent volumes:
- L. G. M. Jaquet (ed.), Nederlands buitenlandse politiek, aspecten en achtergronden, The Hague, 1970 (Aspects of Dutch foreign policy).
- L. G. M. Jaquet (ed.), Intervention in international politics, The Hague, 1971.
- L. G. M. Jaquet, Internationale verkenningen, flitsen uit de ontwikkelingen in Europa, Azie en Amerika, The Hague, 1972 (a volume of essays by L. G. M. Jaquet).

Library: The institute has a library of about 8,000 titles and 200 periodicals specializing in foreign affairs. It assists serious researchers with bibliographies on desired topics.

Finances: The annual budget (1975) is about Dfl. 783,000 (incl. publication costs). Income: 78% government subsidy, 19% sales publications, 3% donations, membership fees.

6. NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR VREDESVRAAGSTUKKEN--DEN HAAG (Netherlands Institute for Studies on Peace and Security, Den Haag)

Address: Alexanderstraat 7, The Hague.

Director: H. J. Neuman.

Characteristics: Founded in 1969 by an independent foundation, which receives its financial resources from the national government. It aims "to gather information on conflicts and their origin and to use this information to stimulate interest in the problems of war and peace in as many sectors of society as possible. It aims to provide those interested with assistance and reliable information and to stimulate this interest in others."

Staff: Study staff, 9; other staff (library, documentation, administration), 13.

Current and completed studies:
Completed studies: see publications, below.
In addition, studies have been undertaken on:
- a West-European nuclear force
- a declaration of no-first-use of nuclear weapons.

Current studies:
- energy and raw material-problems and their political implications in international relations
- USSR and European security, a study of opinions and attitudes
- aggression and violence; forms, origins and control
- American-German security relationships in the Atlantic and European context; the place of the Netherlands
- the concept of fascism.

Teaching and educational activities: The institute as such does not have a program of courses. Members of the staff, however, regularly give lectures and take part in educational programs and projects for outside groups. They write articles for the general press and contribute to radio and TV.

Publications:
Published by the institute and distributed via Meulenhoff-Bruna, Amsterdam:
- Geweldloze weerbaarheid--alternatief voor militaire defensie?, 1972, 65 pp. (Nonviolent resistance--an alternative to military defence?).
- C. J. Visser, Cyprus--anatomie van de tweedracht, 1972, 97 pp. (The conflict in Cyprus).
- J. H. Leurdijk, Wedloop in kernbewapening, 1972, 91 pp. (The arms-race).
- Joris Bakker, Aanloop tot wapenbeheersing?--Het eerste SALT-akkoord, 1972, 44 pp. (The first SALT-agreement--a first step?)
- H. J. Neuman, Het Vietnamese bestand onder de loupe, 1973, 86 pp. (The Vietnam peace treaty 1973).
- S. Rozemond, Vrede en sociale gerechtigheid, 1973, 58 pp. (Peace and social justice).

- Joris Bakker, *Noord-Ierland*, 1973, 100 pp. (The conflict in Northern Ireland).

Distributed by the institute:

- *Should the West promise never to be the first to use nuclear weapons?* An advice to the Netherlands Government, June 1974, III, 24 pp.
- *Nuclear weapons for Western Europe?* Study undertaken at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 1974, III, 90 pp.

Published for the institute by De Bezige Bij, Amsterdam:

- F. Kalshoven, *Zwijgt het recht als de wapens spreken*?, 1974, 130 pp. (On the state of international humanitarian law).
- *Wapenfeiten*, 1975, 82 pp. (Dutch summary of data derived from the SIPRI-Yearbook).
- C. J. Visser, *Cyprus, mislukte republiek*, 1975, 90 pp. (Study on Cyprus after the Turkish invasion).

Library: The institute has a small library. Leading foreign newspapers are indexed. Books and periodicals are catalogued and classified.

Finances: As indicated above, the institute is maintained by a foundation which is financed by the Netherlands Government. It may also receive support from other sources. Annual budget: Dfl. 1, 200,000.

7. INSTITUUT VOOR INTERNATIONALE STUDIEN--RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN (Institute for International Studies, University of Leiden)

Address: Hugo de Grootstraat 27, Leiden.

Director: Philip P. Everts.

Characteristics: The IIS was founded in 1970, as an institute within the University of Leiden, to promote the study of contemporary international problems. It aims:

a. To promote cooperation between institutes and individuals within the university in teaching and research in international studies.

b. To stimulate and organize lectures, teaching programs, seminars and conferences on contemporary international problems.

2-1

c. To serve as a resource centre (organization, library, advice) and information for all those within and outside the university who are interested in international problems.

The institute is governed by a Board, consisting of representatives of the relevant faculties and departments and of various student organizations.

Staff: The institute has a small scientific and administrative staff. Its teaching and research are carried out by the academic staff of the various faculties and departments.

Current and completed research:
- A survey of trends and developments in peace and conflict research, 1965-1971 (completed and published).
- Problems of South-East Asia.
- Modernization in Indonesia.
- The churches and international affairs.

Together with the University of Amsterdam:
- A research project on domestic influences on Dutch foreign policy, including a number of case-studies.

Research in the Department of Political Science (which is one of the partners of the institute):
- The theoretical revolution in the study of international relations (compl.).
- The Netherlands and NATO: the role of a small and faithful ally (compl.).
- India and international conflicts.

Teaching: In addition to the teaching program of the department of political science (courses and seminars for *kandidaten* in international relations), a course in peace research is given for students from faculties, where this subject can be taken as an optional (minor) field (15 students in 1973). The institute also organizes seminars for students and faculty members.

Conferences and seminars: Among the conferences, organized recently, are the following:
- The external consequences of the extension of the Common Market (1972) (see publications).
- The international environment: problems of the pollution of international rivers (1972).
- Workshop on problems of European security, first in a series of meetings between institutions in the Netherlands concerned with research on these problems (1973).

Publications:
- Ph. P. Everts (ed.), The European Community and the World, Rotterdam University Press, 1972.
- Ph. P. Everts (ed.), International Repertory of Institutions for Peace and Conflict Research, UNESCO, Paris, 1973.

Library Facilities: The library of the institute has a growing collection of some 8,000 books and 350 journals. It also houses a depository of documents of the United Nations and the European Communities.

Finances: The institute has an annual budget of about Dfl. 120,000. It is wholly financed by the University of Leiden.

8. INSTITUUT VOOR POLITIKOLOGIE/STUDIECENTRUM VOOR VREDESVRAAGSTUKKEN--KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT NIJMEGEN (Institute for Political Science/Study Centre for Peace Problems, University of Nijmegen)

Address: Van Schaeck Mathonsingel 4, Nijmegen.

Chairman: Dr. K. P. Tudyka, Professor of International Relations.

Director: Dr. L. Wecke, Director of the Studiecentrum.

Characteristics: The institute is a department of the University of Nijmegen. The studiecentrum is a division of this institute for research and teaching on problems of war and peace. In addition the centre promotes studies on war and peace in other departments of the university and elsewhere, and provides documentary resources for this purpose. Finally it provides scientific support for societal changes in favour of peace.

Staff: (For International Relations/Peace Research): professor, 1; full-time permanent researchers, 4; other full-time researchers, 4; admin. staff, 2; several research students.

Current and completed research:

Completed research:
- a number of studies on public opinion on war and peace and the impact and effectiveness of peace action groups, undertaken at the request of the Interchurch Peace Council (IKV), published as IKV 1, 2 and 3.

- the role of television in the annual "peace-week" (1969)
- resistance among teachers against including problems of war, peace and development in the school curriculum (published as IKV 4).

Research:

- transnational corporations and trade-unions
- multinationals and Surinam: the role and functions of the state in peripheral countries.

Other projects:

- structural violence in international politics
- education and peace
- the peace movement as a pressure group
- conflict reduction and conflict management by the UN, especially in the Middle East

Teaching: Courses in international relations and peace research are an obligatory part of the curriculum for students in political science, both at the kandidaats and doctoraal level. At the latter level specialization in this field is possible. Courses and seminars are also given for students from other faculties who wish to include peace research in their programme as a minor field. Students are participating in research projects as part of their training. The study centre also organizes interdisciplinary study-conferences and seminars on problems of war and peace.

Publications: The study centre publishes:

a. Research Reports:
   In this series: The reports IKV 1 (1970), IKV 2 (1970), IKV 3 (1971), IKV 4 (1973), Teachers and World Politics a and Action and Efficiency.

b. Cahiers (short monographs):
   1. F. Kho, The Religious-Political Sect Sokagakhai-Komeito in Japan (1972)
   2. L. Wecke, Beeldvorming in Europa (1973) (On image-formation in Europe)
   3. J. van Keulen, B- and C-Weapons in volkenrechtelijk perspektief (1973) (B- and C-Weapons in international law)
   4. Bulletin of the Peace Research Center. This bulletin contains information about the activities of the Peace Research Center. It appears annually.

c. Other publications:
   K. P. Tudyka (ed.), Multinational Corporations and Labour Unions, SUN, Nijmegen, 1973.

Library: The library is part of the library of the Institute for Political Science and contains some 2,000 books and 50 periodicals on international relations.

The studiecentrum is a documentation centre on political education and peace action.

Finances: No data on budget available.

9. JOHN F. KENNEDY-INSTITUTE--TILBURG (Center for International Studies, University of Tilburg)

Address: Hogeschoollaan 225, Tilburg.

Director: Prof. Dr. F. A. M. Alting von Geusau.

Characteristics: The John F. Kennedy-Institute was founded in 1966 as an independent institute at the University of Tilburg (in 1973 it became a part of the university) "as an interdisciplinary organization to promote research, education, exchange and dialogue concerning major international problems." It is more policy- than theory-oriented in its activities.

Staff: full-time researchers, 3; a few part-time and visiting research associated, 1 or 2.

Current and completed research: The institute now has three major programs of research, teaching and dialogue (see *publications* for completed work).

1. *The study of East-West relations.*

   The following projects are in various stages of completion:
   - general bibliographic research
   - cultural and political east-west relations (the political impact of cultural relations)
   - problems of European security
   - international organizations in Europe and the changing European system
   - the Federal Republic of Germany and European security
   - the role of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy in World War I.

   Under this program the institute has a regular exchange program with similar institutes in Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

2. European-American-relations/External relations of the European Communities.
   - internal constraints to negotiations on non-tariff barriers to trade; a comparative study
   - the external relations of the European Communities
   - consequences of the energy-crisis for European-American security relations.
3. The world energy situation.
   - energy policy planning in the European Community: the case of electric energy (international symposium held in 1974)
   - global energy planning (in cooperation with other European institutes.

Other research projects:
- European perspectives of world order
- the Lomé Convention and world development cooperation: old links or a new departure?--an international symposium (1975)
- the European Community and the Mediterranean areas (together with other European institutes).

Teaching: Courses are offered in the doctoraal program on the following subjects:
- the law of the UN and specialized agencies
- problems of European security
- Europe and problems of world order
- problems of European integration
- international organizations and international trade
- international relations since 1945.

Conferences and seminars: A major part of the institute's activities is the organization of national and international conferences and the publication of their results. Seven such international colloquia have been held (see publications, below).

Publications:
John F. Kennedy-Institute publications:
1. Kernwapens voor alle landen, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau (ed.), Baarn, 1967 (nuclear weapons for each country?).
2. Economic Relations after the Kennedy-Round, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau (ed.), Leiden, 1969.
3. Beyond the European Community, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau (ed.), Leiden, 1969.

4. The Future of International Monetary System, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau and H. W. J. Bosman (eds.), Sijthoff, Leiden, and Heath Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass., 1970.
5. NATO and Security in the Seventies, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau (ed.), Sijthoff, Leiden, and Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass., 1971.
6. Growing Against Ourselves: the Energy Environment Tangle, S. L. Kwee and J. S. R. Mullender (eds.), Sijthoff, Leiden, and Heath Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass., 1972.
7. Prospects for Eliminating Non-Tariff Distortions, Anthony E. Scaperlanda (ed.), Sijthoff, Leiden, 1973.
8. France in the World Community (Decolonization, Peace-keeping and the United Nations), Robert S. Wood, Sijthoff, Leiden, 1973.
9. Energy Policy Planning in the European Community: the Case of Electric Energy, Sijthoff, Leiden, 1975.

Other publications:

1. De Europese Gemeenschappen en de Industriepolitiek, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau (ed.), Kluwer, Deventer, 1968.
2. Denken over Wereldvrede, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau, Van Gorcum, Assen, 1972 (Thinking about World Peace).
3. The External Relations of the European Communities, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau (ed.), Saxon House, D. C. Heath Ltd., Westmead, Farnborough, Hants, 1975.
4. European Perspectives on World Order, F. A. M. Alting von Geusau, Sijthoff, Leiden, 1975.

Reprint Series (articles).

Library: The institute has a small specialized library (2,700 books) jointly with the Instituut voor Ontwikkelingsvraagstukken of the University of Tilburg.

Finances: The institute is financed by the university. Some of its research is financed with outside grants.

10. EUROPA-INSTITUUT--UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM
(Institute for European Studies, University of Amsterdam)

Address: Herengracht 506-508, Amsterdam.

Director: Prof. Dr. H. G. Schermers (chairman of the Board of the Europa-Instituut).

Characteristics: The institute--which is a part of the Faculty of Law, University of Amsterdam--undertakes studies on European integration in the fields of law, economics and political science, and gives courses in these fields. As a consequence of the university reform law (WUB), the Europa-Instituut, as an organization, has been replaced by two "vakgroepen": European Integration and International Organizations. Only the first is described here. The institute organizes an international course in European Integration and international summer courses in legal aspects of European Integration (see below).

Staff: The "vakgroep" European Integration is divided into three sections: law, economics and political science, each with one professor, three researchers and one student-assistant.

Current and completed research:

Completed research:

- pressure groups in Europe (published as Europese Monografieen, 1965)
- the influence of the European Parliament (Europese Monografieen, 1966)
- political integration, a survey of theories (1968)
- doing business in the Europe of the Six (Europese Monografieen, 1971)
- European political union: a survey of plans and politics, 1945-1970 (1971)
- European integration and Atlantic cooperation: a survey of national policies (1972)
- history of European integration 1945-1975.

Current research:

- development of the jurisdiction by the Court of Justice of the European Communities
- extraterritorial impact of EEC-law
- foundation of politics
- introduction to the theory of international relations
- state formation and international integration
- quantitative research in trade-flows
- EEC-member states and international economic organizations with emphasis on development cooperation.

Teaching: The institute provides courses on European law at the doctoraal level and assists in courses on institutional law, public administration and international relations.

There are three major courses (sponsored by NUFFIC, see p. 208) at the post-doctoral level:

- An annual summer course on the legal aspects of European integration (two weeks), for lawyers, legal advisers and civil servants.
- An annual "refresher" course to bring lawyers up to date in European law.
- An annual international course in European integration. This course takes 8 months of full-time study. It is intended for graduates in economics, law and political science and is devoted to European integration in these areas. The number of students ranges between 30 and 50. The international teaching staff consists of university professors and a large number of outside experts. Apart from introductory lectures most of the teaching is done in intensive seminars. A diploma is awarded to successful participants. A limited number of scholarships is available.

Publications:
The institute publishes "Legal Issues of European Integration." Law review of the Europa-Instituut of the University of Amsterdam (twice a year since 1974).

In 1975 the institute started a series of Occasional Papers.

The institute also participates in the publication of the series Europese Monografieen (Kluwer, Deventer).

Recent publications:

- H. G. Schermers, International Institutional Law, 2 vols. (1972).
- L. J. Brinkhorst and H. G. Schermers, Judicial Remedies in the European Communities (1969), with Supplement (1972).
- J. K. de Vree, Political Integration, the Formation of Theory and its Problems (1972).
- P. Coffrey, The Social Economy of France (1973).
- P. Coffrey, The World Monetary Crisis (1974).
- P. Coffrey and J. R. Presley, European Monetary Integration (1971).
- D. J. Zijlstra, H. G. Schermers, E. L. M. Volker and J. A. Winter, Leading Cases and Materials on the Law of the European Communities (1975).

Library: The library of the Europa-Instituut is combined with that of the Seminarium voor Volkenrecht en Internationale Betrekkingen (see p. 213). As a UN depository library it holds a practically complete collection of all UN documents. Likewise, it contains a collection of documents of the European

Communities and other international organizations. The library contains about 12,000 books, 30,000 reports and papers and 300 periodicals.

Finances: No data available.

11. EUROPA-INSTITUUT - Rijksuniversiteit Leiden (Institute for European Studies - University of Leyden)

Address: Hugo de Grootstraat 27, Leiden

Director: Prof. Dr. P. J. G. Kapteijn.

Characteristics: The institute is a part of the Law Faculty, University of Leyden. It undertakes research on European integration, mainly on legal and economic matters. It gives courses on the law of the European Communities and on the law of international organizations.

Staff: Full-time research and teaching staff, 7; research-students, 2; other staff, 3.

Current and completed research:
Completed projects:
- the economic and monetary union
- the institutions of the EEC
- European business law and Dutch domestic law
- the position of the Netherlands in international organizations

Current research:
- European law of competition
- free movement of labour in the EEC
- the trade policy of the EEC
- the influence of the law of the Community on Belgian economic law
- Dutch UN policy: the case of Rhodesia.

Teaching:
Members of the staff give courses at the "doctoraal" level in:
- the law of the European Communities
- the law of international organizations
- international economic relations.

It also organizes regularly post-graduate courses in problems of European integration.

Publications:
Recent publications include:
- Europees kartelrecht anno 1973, Kluwer, Deventer, 1973 (European law of competition, 1973)
- European competition policy, Sijthoff, Leyden, 1973
- S. Patijn, Uitbreiding van de bevoegdheden van het Europese Parlement, Rotterdam University Press, 1972 (The strengthening of the powers of the European Parliament).

Library: The library of the institute forms an integral part of the library of the Institute for International Studies (see above, p. 220).

Finances: The institute is financed almost wholly by the university. Estimated annual budget: Dfl. 440.000.

12. EUROPA-INSTITUUT--RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT UTRECHT
(Institute for European Studies, University of Utrecht)

Address: Janskerkhof 16, Utrecht.

Directors: Prof. Dr. C. K. F. Nieuwenburg and Prof. Dr. P. VerLoren van Themaat.

Characteristics: The Europa-Instituut is a centre for research and teaching on European integration, with emphasis on international law, socio-economic law and economics.

Staff: professors, 3; full-time researchers, 7.

Current and completed research:
1. Research tied to the teaching programme. The book by Prof. Dr. P. J. G. Kapteijn and Prof. Mr. P. VerLoren van Themaat, Introduction to the Law of the European Communities, is kept up to date.
2. Comments and notes on recent legal developments, mostly published in Sociaal-Economische Wetgeving.
3. Individual dissertation research.
4. Fundamental research. Some recent projects:
   - A comparative analysis of economic law in the member-states of the European Community (in cooperation with institutes in other countries).
     A comparative assessment and a report on the Netherlands have been published.

- A comparative legal analysis of national and Community jurisdiction on the economic law of the Community. The report on the Netherlands was prepared by the institute, published in SEW, 1973, pp. 63-133. The general report, prepared by Professor VerLoren van Themaat, was published in SEW, 1973, pp. 134-209.
- Possibilities for re-enforcement of the position and competence of the European Parliament: research partly conducted within the framework of the Commission Vedel. Its report was published in Bulletin van de Europese Gemeenschappen, Supplement 4/72.
- Research on the implementation of Community law in the Netherlands (together with other institutes in the Netherlands).
- New research: A survey of institutional arrangements, instruments and procedures of international economic organizations (together with the Economisch Instituut and the Volkenrechtelijk Instituut of the University of Utrecht).

Teaching:
- The law of international organizations.
- The institutional law of the European Communities.
- European socio-economic law.
- Dutch socio-economic law.
- Comparative socio-economic law.
- International economic law.
- Human rights.
- European economic integration.

Together with other law faculties post-doctoral courses are organized. These courses are often published in the series Europese Monografieen (published by Kluwer, Deventer).

Publications: See above.

Library: The library of the institute houses a depository collection of documents on the European Communities and has a substantive collection on European and socio-economic law.

Finances: The institute is financed by the university. The new research project, mentioned above, is financed in full by the Research Science Foundation (ZWO). No data on budget available.

13. INSTITUUT VOOR SOCIAAL-ECONOMISCHE STUDIE VAN MINDERONTWIKKELDE GEBIEDEN (ISMOG)--UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM (Institute for socio-economic studies of developing regions--University of Amsterdam)

Address: Jodenbreestraat 23, Amsterdam.

Director: Prof. Dr. L. J. Zimmerman.

Characteristics: ISMOG is a part of the Faculty of Economics, University of Amsterdam. It undertakes research and gives courses in development economics. Research concentrates on empirical studies of development problems of developing countries, focusing on the economic evaluation of investment projects.

Staff: Full-time research and teaching staff, 10; part-time research staff, 3; others, 2.

Current and completed research:

- A (micro-)economic research project on differences in labour productivity in various regions of the world is in its final stages, starting from the hypothesis that low wages do not imply low labour costs.

Other projects:

- Power absolute in the relations between poor and rich countries
- Natural resources and economic development
- Socio-economic causes of migration from the Casanance to Dakar (with the Africa Study Centre, Leyden)
- Employment problems in developing countries
- Indicators of growth in poor countries.

Teaching: ISMOG organizes courses and seminar-groups at the *doctoraal* level for students taking development economics as a major and minor subject. Courses in non-western sociology at the *kandidaats* level are given for students in the Faculty of Social Science.

Publications: The list of publications of the Institute (reprints of articles published elsewhere) mentions twenty titles since 1966.

Library: The ISMOG library (2200 books and 100 periodicals) concentrates almost wholly on problems of the developing countries. A major part consists of official publications of international organizations and government.

14. EKONOMISCH EN SOCIAAL INSTITUUT, EKONOMISCHE FAKULTEIT--VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT AMSTERDAM (Faculty of Economics, Free University of Amsterdam)

Address: De Boelelaan 1105, Amsterdam-Buitenveldert.

Title of the project: "Problems of Population Doubling."

Director of the project: Prof. Dr. H. Linneman.

Description: This project is an interdisciplinary study, the objective of which is to determine whether it will be possible--given a doubling of world population--to provide every world citizen with the material requirements for a decent life and, if so, what policies should be followed in production and distribution in order to meet these requirements. The project examines the problems of limited availability of raw materials and energy, the biosphere and social tensions. A second part of the study is the construction--in cooperation with the Agricultural University in Wageningen and the Landbouw Ekonomisch Instituut (Institute for Agrarian Economy)--a generally applicable model in agriculture to determine whether--quantitatively and qualitatively--enough can be produced to feed twice the present world population. The study tries to take into account available resources, energy and pollution.

Staff: 22 researchers have taken part in the research project, many of them, however, on a part-time basis or for a limited period of time. They represent a number of disciplines: economics, econometrics, agrarian economics, system analysis and political science.

Publications: Two major publications are planned for 1975.

Financial and other resources: The study was financed by the Free University, two Ministries in The Hague and staff is provided by two large business corporations, the Central Planning Bureau in The Hague, the Agricultural University (Wageningen), the Ministry of Agriculture and the World Council of Churches (Geneva).

15. AFDELING SOCIAAL-WETENSCHAPPELIJK ONDERZOEK, KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT VOOR DE TROPEN - AMSTERDAM (Department of Social Research, Royal Tropical Institute - Amsterdam)

Address: Linnaeusstraat 2b, Amsterdam.

Director: Dr. P. van Dooren (Department of Social Research).

Characteristics: The Royal Tropical Institute's main purposes are: the accumulation of knowledge with relation to tropical countries in the broadest sense and the transmission and practical application of that knowledge. Its activities are concentrated on conducting scientific research, providing courses and carrying out advisory and supervisory work in connection with development projects. Its Museum acts as an information centre on development cooperation.

The research is carried out in three departments: Department of Agricultural Research, Department of Tropical Hygiene and Department of Social Research. Only data on the latter are given below.

Staff: Director, 1; deputy director, 1; scientific staff, 18; others, 4.

Research: The aims of the department are: the scientific study of development problems and of the social, cultural, demographic, economic and other social changes in tropical and sub-tropical developing societies and to make available the results and the experience of the staff to development cooperation and activities in the developing countries themselves, to the training of development workers and to university education.

Completed research:
- Bangla Desh--Evaluation of national family planning programme
- Burma--Advice on system of agricultural credit and cooperatives
- Kenya--Advice on Dutch development projects
- Netherlands--The "attitude"-concept in birth control

Current research:
- Cameroon--Promotion of agricultural development and agricultural training
- Upper Volta--Advice on selection system with regard to modern agricultural equipment and the introduction of credit and savings system

- Tunisia--Processes of adaptation to social change at the village level
- Colombia--Rural-urban migration in North Colombia (Cartagena).
  Acculturation of Creole groups in North Colombia
- Iran--Management of agrarian production-organizations
- Kenya/Tanzania--Social and cultural factors determining the use of medical facilities by lepra patients
- Indonesia--Improvement of handicraft industries
  Impact of certain foodstuffs on the nutrition of small children
  Migration in North and Central Sulawesi
  The receptiveness of the population of family planning methods
  Social aspects in the reduction of erosion

Teaching:
Members of the staff of the department cooperate in a number of courses given by the Institute:
- courses for future development volunteers
- courses for development experts and junior experts.

They also give lectures at various universities.

Publications:
The department regularly publishes:
- Jaarboek van de afdeling SWO (yearly)
- Tropical Man.

Library: The central library of the Institute contains about 85,000 books and 4,000 periodicals. The library of the Department of Social Research contains about 19,000 books and 220 periodicals.

16. INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES (ISS)--THE HAGUE

Address: Molenstraat 27, The Hague.

Director: Prof. Dr. C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze (rector).

Characteristics: The Institute of Social Studies was founded in 1952 by the universities of the Netherlands as a centre of higher education and research, offering post-graduate courses that focus on problems of development and guided change. The institute operates as an independent institute of higher education

239

under the terms of Article 144 of the Scientific Education Act. Its diplomas and degrees have official status under Dutch law.

The aim of the institute is to contribute to international understanding, the solution of problems of development, and the development of policy skills and techniques.

The institute's academic activities centre around four interdisciplinary areas: (1) Development Planning, with Programmes in Socio-Economic Planning, Project Analysis and Statistics and National Accounting, (2) Power Distribution in Development Processes, with Programmes in Regional Development Planning and in International and National Development, (3) Social Organisation and Development, with Programmes in Urban and Social Development, Rural Development and Industrial Relations, and (4) Development Administration. Within these areas, the academic staff offers teaching programmes and carries out related policy-oriented research. The programmes are designed to serve persons who have responsibilities in development work in their own countries and who will resume their tasks on completion of their work at the ISS. As far as possible, research is conducted in collaboration with university or other research institutions in the less developed countries and in cooperation with Dutch universities and international agencies.

The four areas of concentration are reflected in the institute's organisation. There are four Workshops, each consisting of faculty members who have chosen to collaborate on a particular cluster of development problems, as listed above. Workshop members select representatives to the Institute Council and other organs of the institute. The faculty as a whole, together with elected representatives of administrative and technical staff and representatives of the students, form the institute's General Assembly and elect the Executive Committee and the Officers of the Assembly and Council. The institute can offer scholars on leave from their own institutions the hospitality of its facilities and participation in the programmes. The institute conducts special seminars and training courses, either under its own auspices or in collaboration with other organisations. A majority of the students study with scholarships offered by the Netherlands Fellowship Programme of the Department of International Technical Assistance. Some scholarships offered by other agencies are also available.

Staff: Full-time teaching and research staff, 50; other staff, 35.

Current and completed research: Although teaching is the major function of the ISS, it also has a large number of research projects. Apart from the research projects emanating from cooperation between ISS and University College of Cape Coast, Ghana (agrarian development, some 30 research papers completed or in preparation) and the UN East African Railways and Harbours Training and Development Project (organisational theory), the following research, carried out in the four Workshops mentioned above, are relevant to this survey.

1. Development Planning Workshop
    - Socio-economic model for Mexico
    - Studies in the measurement of social variables
    - Micro-economic theory and the economic order (qualitative economics of development)
    - Availability and needs of statistical data and planning models
    - The theoretical aspects of cooperative sociology and sociology of guided change
    - Development education
    - Problems of economic growth in small, land-locked countries
    - Project behaviour in a developing country (Ghana)
    - Economic macro-multi-sectoral models for developing countries as a basis for analysing income distribution.
2. Workshop on Power Distribution in Development Processes

    Research in this workshop centers around the distribution of power at the international, national and regional levels. Individual projects:

    - States and empires: a configurational approach to international relations; state and empire formation and interstate relations as structural developmental processes
    - Development of interdisciplinary structural functional models of societies, taking into account social conflict as major constituting element
    - The elaboration of a concept of "social field"
    - Regional and local self-government and industrial self-management in Yugoslavia
    - Predicting regional growth patterns (south central Ghana) on the basis of regions, institutional and organisations structures
    - Reformulation of export base-theory
    - Organisation of and changes in the pastoral economy of the Fulani
    - Change and development in Ghana's central region; social differentiation and distribution of wealth, welfare and power.

3. Workshop on Mobilization and Participation

The purpose of this workshop is to study development and development policy in the following perspectives:

a. Inequality, poverty and marginality
b. Reactions to inequality, poverty and marginality
c. Government policy for societal development
d. Alternative criteria for societal development policies, strategies and programmes of action

Individual projects:

- The situation of agricultural labourers in India
- Strategies of peasant organisation, particularly in Asia
- Changing patterns of industrial relations in Malta
- Comparative study of industrial relations and development
- Processes and policies of social mobilisation and structural transformation of society (Peru)
- Problems in the development of a unified approach to development, including a comparative historical analysis of processes and policies in India and China
- Political protest in Jamaica, 1935-1970
- Community development as an approach to stimulate participation
- Industry and industrialisation in Peru.

4. Development Administration Workshop

The research in this workshop is concerned with planned change and the methodology for the setting and attainment of policy goals. The workshop also aims to develop methods and teaching material for the promotion of skills of administrators of change and for the evaluation of teaching results.

Teaching: The institute offers a number of 6-9 months postgraduate courses, leading up to a Diploma:

1. Development Planning Workshop
    A. Socio-Economic Planning
    B. Project Analysis
    C. Statistics and National Accounting
2. Workshop on Power Distribution in Development Processes
    A. Regional Development Planning
    B. International and National Development
3. Social Organisation and Development Workshop
    A. Urban Social Development
    B. Rural Development
    C. Industrial Relations
4. Development Administration Workshop
    A. Development Administration.

The ISS also offers a series of programmes leading to a Masters degree in Public Administration and in Social Sciences. Both programmes are based on a year's course work and the writing of a thesis. The number of students is about 170 each year.

Publications: The ISS publishes its own journal, Development and Change, four issues per year.

Working papers and research reports are published in its series of Occasional Papers.

Paperback Series. Published in these series since 1972:

- Van Hoek, F. J., The Migration of High Level Manpower from Developing to Developed Countries (1970, 52 pp.)
- Brenner, Y. S., Agriculture and the Economic Development of Low Income Countries (1971, 254 pp.)
- Gillie, F. B., An Approach to Town Planning (1971, 164 pp.)
- Dunham and Hilhorst (eds.), Issues in Regional Planning (1971, 275 pp.)
- Pusić, E., Social Welfare and Social Development (1972, 251 pp.)
- Van Nieuwenhuijze, C. (ed.), Development: the Western View (1972, 95 pp.)
- Packard, P. C., Critical Path Analysis for Development Administration (1972, 84 pp.)
- Van Nieuwenhuijze, C. (ed.), Emigration and Agriculture in the Mediterranean Basin (1972, 188 pp.)
- Ponsioen, J. (ed.), Educational Innovations in Africa (1972, 262 pp.)
- Ponsioen, J. (ed.), Innovations dans l'enseignement en Afrique (1973, 312 pp.)
- Kiray, M. B. (ed.), Social Stratification and Development in the Mediterranean Basin (1973, 290 pp.)
- Wood, A. W., Informal Education and Development in Africa (1974, 312 pp.)
- Drewnowski, J., On Measuring and Planning the Quality of Life (1974, 148 pp.)
- Cohen, A. R., Tradition, Change and Conflict in Indian Family Business (1974, 347 pp.)
- Packard, P. C., Project Appraisal for Development Administration (1974, 158 pp.)
- Van Raay and Lugo (eds.), Man and Environment Ltd. Natural Imbalances and Social Justice (1974, xvi, 332 pp.).

Library: The ISS has a specialised library of about 18,500 books and 400 periodicals. Its documentation service produces a bibliographic service *Document Review of the Library of the Institute of Social Studies*.

Finances: The ISS is financed by the Dutch Government. No data on budget available.

A majority of the students have scholarships provided by the Netherlands Fellowship Programme of the Technical Assistance Department (The Hague). Some scholarships are available from international organisations.

17. DERDE WERELDCENTRUM--KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT NIJMEGEN (Third World Centre--Catholic University of Nijmegen)

Address: Coehoornstraat 93, Nijmegen

Director: Dr. G. Huizer

Characteristics: The Third World Centre is connected with the Faculty of Social Sciences of the university and was founded in May 1973. Its aim is to provide information on developing countries and their relationship with the developed countries. Emphasis is laid on the combination of theory and practice, by close cooperation with "third world action-groups."

Staff: Full-time assistant-professor, 1; part-time researchers, 3; secretary, 1.

Current research:
- investment of (Dutch) multinational companies in Southern Africa, Indonesia and Surinam
- the activities of NATO with respect to developing countries
- the role of the multinational companies in the oil- and energy-crisis
- the role of multinational companies in the Nijmegen area
- the activities of Dutch companies in Kenya
- problems of migrant workers

Teaching: The centre gives courses in "processes of change in developing countries" for all students who wish to include this subject in their programme of studies.

Courses are given at both the "*kandidaats*" and "*doctoraal*" level. A course on "imperialism and underdevelopment," including research, is given at the *doctoraal* level.

Publications: A survey of multinational companies in Nijmegen.

Library: A library will be built up.

Finances: The Centre is financed by the University of Nijmegen. No data on budget available.

18. CENTRUM VOOR ONTWIKKENLINGSPROGRAMMERING--ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM (Centre for Development Planning, University of Rotterdam)

Address: Burgemeester Oudlaan 50, Rotterdam-3016.

Director: Prof. Dr. H. C. Bos.

Characteristics: The Centre for Development Planning is an institute of the Erasmus University (formerly called Netherlands School of Economics). The centre's research programme includes methods and technique of development planning, analysis of and policies for development, economic policies towards developing countries, and the economics of centrally planned systems. The centre also has a teaching programme (see below).

Staff: Professors and readers, 4; senior research fellows, 3; research fellows, 13; secretariat, 2.

Several staff members also have part-time appointments at the Netherlands Economic Institute, Division of Balanced International Growth.

Current and completed research: The center's research is organized around working groups.

The group *Regional and Interregional Planning* works on the development of new models and the extension and refinement of existing models for the regionalization of national development plans. Current work is on Mexico.

The working group *Employment Planning* collects information on techniques for employment analysis in developing countries and attempts to develop new analytical tools.

The working group Social Planning deals with social planning and its impact on traditional economic planning.

Research on Centrally Planned Economic Systems encompasses various subjects in the field of economic planning and policy in Eastern Europe, including financial, foreign trade and interregional planning.

Individual research projects:

- production, manpower and social planning
- price consistency in development planning
- the semi-output-input method
- planning economic integration among developing countries
- the financial sector and financial plans in East-European economics
- the environmental crisis and world poverty
- income distribution, measurement of utility
- the theory of the optimal economic order
- interregional planning in the Soviet Union
- methods of analysis and projection of international trade flows.

Teaching: The teaching programme in development planning at the "doctoraal" level takes four semesters. Apart from courses in macro-economic theory, business economics and an optional subject, which are not part of the centre's responsibility, the programme consists of some ten courses (each taught during one semester): introduction to development problems and policies, macro planning, sector and multisector planning, regional planning, social planning, project appraisal, linear programming, econometrics. The centre's staff also teaches a four-semester course on planning methods, economic policy and foreign trade in centrally planned economics and a course on economics of developing countries as optional subjects in all doctoraal curricula of the school.

Publications: In the series "Studies in Development and Planning" the following titles have appeared:

- L. B. M. Mennes, Planning Economic Integration among Developing Countries, Rotterdam University Press, 1973.
- P. A. Cornelisse, Price Inconsistencies in Development Planning, Rotterdam University Press, 1973.
- F. K. Bishay, Models for Spatial Agricultural Development Planning, Rotterdam University Press, 1974.
- A. H. M. Mahfuzur Rahman, Exports of Manufactures from Developing Countries, Rotterdam University Press, 1973.

- S. Panitchpadki, Educational Growth in Developing Countries, Rotterdam University Press, 1974.
- S. I. Cohen, Production, Manpower and Social Planning, Rotterdam University Press, 1975.

Also published:

- J. G. Waardenburg, On the Theory of the Optimum Economic Order.
- L. B. M. Mennes, J. Tingergen, J. C. Waardenburg, Lo Spazio nei Piani Economici (transl. of The Element of Space in Development Planning).
- H. C. Bos, Martin Sanders, Carlo Secchi, Private Foreign Investment in Developing Countries, Reidels Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland/Boston, USA, 1974.
- H. C. Bos, H. Linneman, and P. de Wolff (eds.), Economic Structure and Development, Essays in honour of J. Tinbergen, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1973.
- Jan Tinbergen, Income Distribution, Analysis and Policies, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1975.

Reprint Series: Approx. twenty reprints of articles published elsewhere.

Discussion Papers: Approx.twenty unpublished scientific papers.

Other Reprints and Mimeographed Papers: Of the 35 papers, published until 1972, most are by Professor Jan Tinbergen, former director of the centre, on: income distribution, measurement of utility and the reduction of income inequality within and between states.

Library: About 5,000 books and 50 journals. The central library of the university contains some 100,000 books and 1,200 journals in the fields of law, economics and social sciences.

Finances: The institute is financed by the university, of which it forms a part. No data on budget available.

19. INSTITUUT VOOR ONTWIKKELINGSVRAAGSTUKKEN van het Economisch Instituut Tilburg (Development Research Institute--University of Tilburg)

Address: Hogeschoollaan 225, Tilburg

Director: Prof. Dr. L. H. Janssen

Characteristics: The Development Research Institute (IVO) is an "inter-faculty" institute of the Faculties of Economics and Social Sciences. Its objective is:

- to provide courses at the "doctoraal" level on the economic, sociological and anthropological problems of developing countries
- to undertake research in these areas; special attention is paid to the interaction of social and economic factors in the development process.

Staff: Full-time research staff (professors and research associates), 11; research-students, 2; administrative staff, 1

Current and completed research:

- Joint working group with the Technical University of Eindhoven on Adapted Production-systems. Research concentrated on production-systems and their adaptation to the environment in developing countries.
- In the economic sector, the main focus is on development policies of the Government of Peru. This project is carried out in cooperation with the Universidad Nacional de Ingenieria, the Instituto Nacional de Planificacion in Lima and the Instituto Latino Americano de Planificacion Economico y Social in Santiago, Chile. Research involved the construction of an input-output table for the Peruvian economy.

Other research in this sector:

- budgeting in Nigeria
- international tourism in the developing countries
- the employment factor in development.

In the social sector research centres on the role of religion in a general sociological theory of development.

At the request of the Roman Catholic Church in West Cameroon, research was undertaken on the role of the church in education and other social sectors and on urbanisation. In the West and East Cameroons, the latter was done with l'Institut Pan-Africain de Developpement. The role of the Roman Catholic Church in Surinam was also analysed.

At the national level research is done on "cosmopolitical training," identifying in the developed countries factors which hinder a restructuring of international society. Strategies of change are developed and tested.

Teaching:

In the economic section a programme of two years of courses and seminars at the "doctoraal" level is given. Students participate in the research projects as much as possible.

In the *social* sector general courses on development sociology and the sociology of change are combined with specific study-projects.

Publications: The list of publications of the IVO mentions over 100 titles of books, monographs, papers and articles in professional journals and in the general press.
Major publications:

- G. J. L. Bertholet, *Het ontwikkelingsprobleem in sociaal perspectief*, Rotterdam University Press, 1967 (The development problem in social perspective)
- *Evaluatie van de Nederlandse ontwikkelingshulp, onderzoek verricht in opdracht van de Nederlandse regering*, Tilburg, 1969, 1128 pp. (An evaluation of Dutch development policies, undertaken at the request of the Dutch Government)
- A. W. M. Keune, *Gemeenschapsontwikkeling: Theorie en praktijk van een nationaal beleid, met bijzondere verwijzing naar Columbia*, Tilburg, 1969, 204 pp. (Community development, theory and practice of a national policy, with special reference to Colombia)
- F. P. Jansen, *Schaarse middelen en structurele samenhangen, met bijzondere verwijzing naar planning in ontwikkelingslanden*, Tilburg, 1969, 240 pp. (Scarce resources and structural relations: planning in developing countries)
- C. S. I. J. Lagerberg, *De sociaal-economische rol van de Katholieke kerk in West-Kameroen*, Den Haag, 1971 (The socio-economic role of the Catholic church in West-Cameroon)
- C. S. I. J. Lagerberg, *Kerk en ontwikkeling in West Kameroen*, Tilburg, 1971 (Church and development in West-Cameroon)
- J. Vingerhoets et al., *Rural manpower, rural institutions and rural employment in Thailand*, Bangkok, 1972, 181 pp.
- C. S. I. J. Lagerberg, *Profile of a trading town in West-Cameroon*, Rotterdam University Press, 1973
- A. W. M. Keune, et al., *Funding agencies and development education*, FAO, Rome, 1972
- O. E. Obinna, *Problems of State and Federal Government Budgeting in Nigeria*, Tilburg, 1974
- *Population problems and Catholic responsibility, report of an international symposium*, Tilburg, 1974.

As part of the research project in Peru, some 18 papers have been published in various forms.

Library: The library of IVO is combined with the library of the John F. Kennedy-Institute. It contains about 3,300 books. The staff of the library provides information on available literature to interested groups and individuals on request.

The central library of the University (formerly Tilburg School of Economics) holds about 150,000 books in the social sciences.

Finances: The Institute is financed by the university. Some of its major research projects have been funded by others: the national government, the Roman Catholic Church, SODEPAX. No data available.

20. ANTROPOLOGISCH-SOCIOLOGISCH CENTRUM--UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM (Anthropological-Sociological Centre, University of Amsterdam)

Address: Keizersgracht 397, Amsterdam.

The Antropologisch-Sociologisch Centrum consists of two departments:

I. Department of South- and Southeast-Asia
II. Department of Cultural Anthropology.

I. Department of South- and Southeast-Asia

Director: Prof. Dr. O. D. van den Muijzenberg.

Characteristics: The department is a part of the University of Amsterdam, Faculty of Social Sciences. It undertakes research and gives courses in the anthropology and sociology of the following regions: S.E. Asia, S. Asia, China, Japan.

Staff: Professor, 1; full-time research staff, 10; other staff, 6.

Current and completed research:
The research of the Centre can be brought under the following headings:

- Sociology of development
- Political sociology and anthropology
- Demography and ecology
- Marxism and neo-marxism
- Structuralism.

Individual research projects (in various stages of completion):
- Social inequality in a slum of Karachi
- Social inequality and polarity in India and China
- Integration of migrants in Great Manila
- Modernization and religion in Kelantan (Western Malaysia)
- Small entrepreneurs in the industrialization of South Gujarat, India
- The role of the Japanese Army toward indigenous mass movements in World War II
- Student movements in Indonesia
- Technological and social change in rural Southeast Asia
- State formation and political violence in the Philippines.

Teaching: The department has a professor of sociology and modern history of non-western peoples, particularly of South and Southeast Asia. Courses are given at the kandidaats and the doctoraal level.

Publications: The department has two publication series: Publikaties van de Afdeling Zuid- en Zuid-Oost-Azie published recently in this series:
- E. W. Hommes, Over de evaluatie van plattelandsplanning in India (1970) (On the evaluation of agrarian planning in India).
- J. C. Breman, Meester en knecht. Een onderzoek naar de veranderingen in de betrekkingen tussen landheren en landarbeiders in Zuid-Gujarat (1970) (On the relations between landlords and peasants in South-Gujarat).
- M. L. Vellinga and W. G. Wolters, De Chinezen van Amsterdam (1972) (The Chinese of Amsterdam).
- Kwesi Prah, The social background of coups d'état (Brazil, Indonesia and Ghana) (1973).
- O. D. van den Muijzenberg, Horizontale mobiliteit in Centraal Luzon (1973) (Horizontal mobility in Central Luzon, Philippines).
- W. F. Wertheim, Dawning of an Asian dream. Selected articles on modernization and emancipation (1973).
- P. H. Streefland, Slaughterhouse (1975).

Voorpublikaties recently published in this series:
- L. E. L. Sluimers, Samurai, Pemuda und Sakdalista. Die Japaner und der Radikalismus in Indonesien und den Philippinen (1972).
- P. H. Streefland, The Christian Punjabi Sweepers. Their history and their position in present-day Pakistan (1973).
- L. Ch. Schenk-Sandbergen en W. F. Wertheim, Polarity and equality in China (1974).

- J. B. A. F. Mayor Polak, *De herleving van het Hindoeisme op Oost-Java* (1973) (with a summary in English).
- E. Utrecht, *De onderbroken revolutie in het Indonesische dorp* (1974).

Library: The library contains some 7,000 books and 100 periodicals on areas of interest to the Centre, and 4,500 books and 50 periodicals on cultural anthropology in general.

Finances: The department is financed by the university. Some of the international research has been financed from outside sources. No data available.

II. Department for Cultural Anthropology

Director: Prof. Dr. A. F. J. Kobben.

Characteristics: The department undertakes research and gives courses in the field of cultural anthropology.

Staff: Professors, 2; full-time research staff, 7; other staff, 6.

Research: Individual research projects with some specialization on problems of the Mediterranean (Malta) and Surinam (migration to the Netherlands).

Teaching: Courses and seminars are given for students with cultural anthropology as major or minor field.

Publications: No data on individual publications. The department has started a series of monographs on migration from Surinam to the Netherlands.

Library: See above.

Finances: The department is financed by the university. Some of the research projects have been financed from other sources (ZWO). No data available.

21. KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE--LEIDEN (Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden)

Address: Stationsplein 10, Leiden.

Director: Dr. J. Noorduyn (general secretary).

Aim and Characteristics: The institute, founded in 1851, promotes linguistic, ethnological and historical studies focused on South-East Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean area. Its three main departments are the Caribbean Department, and the Departments of Modern and Historical Indonesian Documentation.

Staff: 30 in total.

Research and Documentation:

The Caribbean Department's activities are centred on documentation with special reference to the Caribbean and surrounding areas. Its principal aim is to facilitate, coordinate and promote the study of this area. The department strives to establish and maintain close contacts with similar institutions in the Netherlands and abroad. Close relations are maintained with LASA (the Latin American Studies Association) and CLASCO (Consejo Latino Americano de Ciencias Sociales). The department has a one-third share, together with CEDLA of Amsterdam (see p. 256), in the publication of the Boletín de Estudios Latino-Americanos y del Caribe. Finally, it is preparing a Central Catalogue of publications on the Caribbean area.

The Historical Indonesian Documentation Department is engaged in compiling a Gids van in Nederland aanwezige bronnen betreffende de geschiedenis van Azie en Oceanie 1796-1949 (Guide to Dutch sources pertaining to the history of Asia and Oceania from 1796-1949), of which 7 volumes have so far been published. A bibliography of literary materials (memoirs, novels, poetry, etc.) with reference to Indonesia has been published under the title "Persoonlijke Dokumenten." A project for bringing J. C. Hooykaas' Repertorium op de kononiale literatuur (up to date) is also in progress. In addition, the department is in charge of the institute's collections of manuscripts, maps and photographs.

The Modern Indonesian Department is preparing a "Central Catalogue of Dutch sources on Indonesia, 1945-1968," listing titles of articles and books in the social sciences and linguistics of Indonesia. It publishes a quarterly journal, Excerpta Indonesia, containing abstracts of the most important periodical articles on Indonesia. It is carrying out a joint project with Cornell University Library for building up a microfiche collection of the principal Indonesian periodicals published from 1945-1968 (comprising some 1,000 titles) and of some 8,000 Government publications and monographs.

Teaching: The institute provides a Lecturer in Cultural Anthropology for the Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta. The head of the Caribbean Department is also a Lecturer in the Department of Cultural Anthropology of the University of Leiden. Currently an inter-university course in Caribbean studies is being organized by the Caribbean Department, while a similar course in Indonesian studies is being prepared by the Modern Indonesian Documentation Department.

Publications: The institute has a number of publication series:
- *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (a quarterly journal), 131 vols., up to 1975.
- *Bibliotheca Indonesica*, editions of texts in Indonesian languages with English translation and commentary, 11 vols., up to 1975.
- *Verhandelingen*, a monograph series, 73 vols., up to 1975.
- *Translation Series*, English translations of works previously published in Dutch, 16 vols. published to date.
- *Catalogues* of the institute's holdings.

Library: The institute's library comprises some 90,000 volumes, and especially as far as its Indonesian holdings are concerned, represents one of the most extensive and specialized collections in Europe, if not in the world. Its collections are steadily expanding, especially through acquisitions in Indonesia by the institute's representative there.

Finances: The institute is financed almost entirely by Dutch Government subventions. Budget (for 1974): Dfl. 1,700,000.

22. AFRIKA-STUDIECENTRUM--LEIDEN (African Study Centre, Leiden)

Address: Stationsplein 10, Leiden.

Director: G. W. Grootenhuis (general secretary/director).

Characteristics: The Afrika-Studiecentrum (ASC) is an interdisciplinary and inter-university institute for the promotion of African studies in the Netherlands. Founded in 1947, it assumed its present structure in 1958. It is governed by a Board, consisting of representatives of all Dutch universities and related centres. Its research staff is recruited from practically all fields of the social sciences. Working in close cooperation with the universities in Africa itself, the ASC sponsors individual and joint research projects, primarily concerned with development in Africa.

Staff: Research staff, 19; library staff, 6; administrative staff, 10.

Current and completed research: As pointed out above, the institute undertakes interdisciplinary research in close cooperation with research institutes in Africa. ASC offers a limited number of temporary research posts to Dutch and African scholars. It also welcomes and supports visiting foreign scholars.

The (current) research program can be brought under six main headings:

1. Studies on rural development
    - Research on interrelations between social, economic and demographic aspects of migration, and consequences of migration for areas of departure in Basse Casamance (Senegal)
    - Nyakyusa without Age-Villages
    - Problems of unemployment in African plantation economy: the Tanzanian sisal plantation case
    - Facts and factors in the rural economy of the Nyakyusa (Tanzania)
    - A study of socio-economic change in a Tswana village
    - Landtenure and socio-economic change in Central Sierra Leone.
2. Studies on development of law
    - Family law in Sierra Leone
    - Woman and law; comparison between different dispute settlement agencies among the Anufom (Togo)
    - Mende family law, Sierra Leone.
3. Sociological-anthropological studies
    - Marriage and divorce in Benin City: a study of marital stability among the Edo's
    - Ethnic leadership and urban change: a study of the "tribal headmen" of Freetown, Sierra Leone
    - Diamonds and social change: the Kono Experience; a study of the impact of diamond mining on Kono Secret Societies and social relationships.
4. Studies on political development
    - The revolt in Tsjaad
    - The Organization of African Unity.

5. *Historical studies*
   - The dynamics of colonial change in Sierra Leone; the Mende experience, 1880-1945
   - An Ashanti Embassy to the Coast of Guinea: the mission of Akyempon Yow to Elmina, 1869-1872

6. *Miscellaneous*
   - The Lebanese traders in Sierra Leone
   - The influence of malnutrition on psychological development
   - Evaluation of nutrition education schemes in Uganda
   - African literature
   - Public administration: urban politics and administration in Greater Freetown
   - Linguistics: comparative research on Kordofan, Sudan Republic
   - Shona independent churches (Northern Rhodesia)
   - (Part-time desk-research): Analysis of reporting on Africa by the Dutch press.

Completed research: *see* publications, below.

The ASC organizes an annual international seminar on a specific theme concerned with African studies (*see* below under publications).

Teaching: Although the ASC does not have a regular program of courses and seminars, members of the staff regularly give lectures at various Dutch universities (about 100 in 1973, and 120 in 1974).

Plans are being developed for a regular inter-university course on Africa at the *doctoraal* level.

Publications: ASC publishes a tri-annual journal *Kroniek van Afrika* and three major publication series:

1. *Change and continuity in Africa, ASC Monographs* (published by Mouton, The Hague). Published in this series:
   - R. Buijtenhuis, *Le mouvement 'Mau-Mau,' une révolte paysanne et anti-coloniale en Afrique noire* (1971, 428 pp.)
   - J. Boissevain and J. C. Mitchell (eds.), *Network analysis: studies in human interaction* (1973, 271 pp.)
   - J. F. Holleman, Issues in African law (1974, 179 pp.)
   - M. L. Daneel, *Old and new Southern Shona Independent Churches*, vol. 1, Background and rise of the major movements (1971, 557 pp.), vol. 2, Church growth-causative facts and recruitment techniques (1974).

2. Communications. This is a series of small books and monographs (also published by Mouton, The Hague).

- M. L. Daneel, The God of the Matopo Hills: an essay on the Mwari cult in Rhodesia (1970, 95 pp.)
- M. L. Daneel, Zionism and faith-healing in Rhodesia: aspects of African Independent Churches (1970, 64 pp.)
- P. M. van Hekken and H. U. E. Thoden van Velzen, Land scarcity and rural inequality in Tanzania (1972, 127 pp.)
- R. Buijtenhuis, Mau-Mau--Twenty years after: the myth and the survivors (1973, 170 pp.).

3. African Social Research Documents. This is a series published jointly with the African Studies Centre in Cambridge, U.K. It does not publish results of research as such but materials, which merit distribution on a smaller scale. Eight volumes will be published up to the end of 1974.

In the mimeographed series Research and Seminar Papers, research papers by staff members of the ASC and papers contributed to the ASC's annual international seminar are published, e.g. "Changes in Tanzanian rural society and their relevance for development planning" (1970), "Problems of land tenure in African development" (1971) and "Population growth and economic growth in Africa" (1972). Altogether some 75 papers have been published in this series.

Library: The ASC library contains a specialized collection of about 10,000 books and 550 periodicals, as well as 100 metres of official reports and documents. Books and articles are catalogued and documented. The library also contains some 70 ethnographic films.

Finances: the ASC is financed by the Dutch Government. Annual budget about Dfl. 2,500,000.

23. INSTITUUT VOOR MODERNE AZIATISCHE GESCHIEDENIS, UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM (Institute for Modern Asian History, University of Amsterdam)

Address: Herengracht 256, Amsterdam

Director: Dr. J. M. Pluvier (Reader in modern Asian history)

Characteristics: Department of the University of Amsterdam. Its research and teaching is mainly historical and political, not sociological, a similar approach to the Anthropological-Sociological Centre (see p. 246).

Staff: Full-time researchers, 3

Research: The Institute has no research programme, but individual research projects include the Sarekat Islam in the 1920s and the Indonesian Chinese.

Teaching: Courses in modern Asian history as a minor field are given both at the kandidaats and doctoraal level for students in the Departments of History, Political Science and others.

Publications: The Institute does not have a publication series of its own.

Library: The library is part of the university library and contains about 2,000 books.

Finances: The Institute is financed by the university. No data on budget available.

24. INSTITUUT VOOR HET MODERNE NABIJE OOSTEN--UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM (Institute for the Modern Far East, University of Amsterdam)

Address: Spuistraat 210, Amsterdam.

Director: The institute is under the direction of a "vakgroep" (specialised group) in Arabic and Islamic Studies (chairman: Prof. S. Wild).

Characteristics: The institute (IMNO) is part of the university of Amsterdam, under the Faculty of Arts, Department of Classical and Non-Western Languages and Cultures. It supplements the teaching and research activities of the department in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies (including social science research in this area). The institute also provides information to the interested public.

Staff: Full-time researchers, 4; part-time (extraordinary professor), 1; others, 3.

Research: No collective research.
Individual research:
- a study of "Holy War" in Islam
- the history of the Palestinian-Israel conflict
- mass media in Egypt.

Teaching: Courses in Arabic and Islamic studies are given.

Publications: None.

Library: Some 13,000 volumes (3,000 in Arabic), some 100 journals, some newspapers specialized in modern literature in Arabic. Records of own holdings and other sources are available.

Finances: The institute is financed by the university.

25. NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN--LEIDEN (Netherlands Institute for the Near East, Leiden)

Address: Noordeindsplein 4-6, Leiden.

Director: Dr. E. van Donzel.

Archivist: Dr. C. Nijland.

Characteristics: The Foundation Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten maintains an institute and a library for the promotion of scientific research on the ancient and modern Near East. It issues various publication series and promotes cultural relations with Turkey and the Near East.

Staff: Scientific and administrative staff, 4.

Activities: The main activities of the institute are its library and publications.

Publications:
- *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (since 1943).
- *Publications de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul*, 38 vols. (since 1956).

- *Anatolica* (since 1955).
- *Scholae Adriani de Buck Memoriae Dicatae* (since 1962).
- *Studia Fransisci Scholten Memoreae Dicatae*, 4 vols. (since 1952).

Library: The library contains some 30,000 books and 500 periodicals. Specialization: Assyriology, Egyptology, the civilization of the Middle East in antiquity, the middle ages and modern times (history, archaeology, history of art, oriental studies).

Finances: No data on budget available.

26. INTERUNIVERSITAIR CENTRUM VOOR STUDIE EN DOKUMENTATIE VAN LATIJNS AMERIKA (CEDLA)
(Inter-university Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation)--Amsterdam

Address: Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16, Amsterdam.

Director: Dr. H. Hoetink. Chairman of the Board: Prof. Dr. B. F. Galjart.

Characteristics: CEDLA was founded in 1964. In 1971 it became an inter-university centre of the Universities of Amsterdam, Leiden, Nijmegen, Rotterdam, Tilburg, Utrecht, The Free University of Amsterdam, the Agricultural School of Wageningen, the Institute of Social Studies (The Hague), the Institute for the Tropics (Amsterdam) and the Royal Institute for Linguistics and Ethnology (Leiden). The Centre's aims are the following:

- to undertake social science research on Latin America (sociology, economics, social geography, political science, history),
- to promote the coordination of social science research in the Netherlands and, where possible, internationally,
- to promote knowledge on Latin America through scientific publications and other media,
- to promote teaching on Latin America, especially post-graduate courses and supplementary courses for specialisation in Latin American studies
- to collect books and other documents relating to social science studies on Latin America.

Staff: (Interdisciplinary) research staff, 8; research students, 3; others, 4.

Research: Research is considered to be the main task of CEDLA. Disciplines represented: sociology, economics, social geography, cultural anthropology, political science and history. Until recently research was in the form of individual research projects, leading to a doctoral dissertation. Research covers Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile and the northern Andes region. From 1976 onwards, at least one researcher from Latin America will be attached to the institute each year.

Teaching: Courses at doctoraal level are provided for students from various universities (some 40 attend each course). Subject in 1975/76: The problem of underdevelopment in Latin America.

Publications: CEDLA produces three regular publications:
- Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos (twice a year). The bulletin reports on research and publications on Latin America.
- Directorio. This directory lists European research projects and publications. A new edition was published in 1974 (April).
- Catalogues on micro-fiche containing information on the institute's holdings (issued four times a year).

CEDLA also publishes occasional papers (Incidentele Publikaties):
1. Het 'dependencia' model in de ontwikkelingsproblematiek van Latijns-Amerika.
2. Dependency and Latin America. A Workshop.
3. C. F. Jongkind, Regionale clubs in Lima, Perú.

Library: The library of CEDLA contains a specialized collection on Latin America (about 8,500 volumes and 415 periodicals), including a representative collection of official and other statistical publications. The staff of the institute assists in documenting research covered by the publications received by CEDLA.

Finances: CEDLA is financed by the participating institutions (and indirectly by the Dutch Government). Budget (1975): Dfl. 1,014,900.

27. INSTITUUT KERN--INDOLOGISCH INSTITUUT--RUJKSUNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN (Institute for South Asian Studies, University of Leiden)

Address: 1e Binnenvestgracht 33, Leiden.

Director: Prof. Dr. J. C. Heesterman.

Characteristics: The institute, which is a part of the University of Leiden, undertakes research and provides courses in classical Indian studies (Sanskrit, archeology and history of art of South and South East Asia), as well as on modern South Asian (history and languages) and South Indian studies.

Staff: Professors, 4; full-time associates, 7, and half-time associates, 1; librarian, 1; others, 3.

Research: Since the classical Indian studies fall outside the scope of this survey, only studies on modern South Asia are mentioned here:
- tradition and modernity in South Asia: a comparative perspective
- agrarian history of British India.

Teaching: The institute provides courses at both the *kandidaats* and *doctoraal* level. Many of the students come from other faculties and departments, such as history and non-western sociology.

Publications:
No data on individual publications.
The institute prepares an *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology* (since 1926), and participates in the *Indo-Iranian Journal* (published since 1957).

Library: The institute's library contains about 14,000 books and 250 current periodicals.

Finances: No data available.

28. SINOLOGISCH INSTITUUT (incl. DOKUMENTATIECENTRUM VOOR HET HUIDIGE CHINA)--RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN (Institute for Chinese Studies [incl. Documentation Centre on Contemporary China], University of Leiden)

Address: 1e Binnenvestgracht 33a, Leiden.

Director: Prof. Dr. E. Zurcher.

Characteristics: The institute forms part of the Faculty of Letters, Department of Languages and Cultures of East Asia. Its organizational structure reflects its interest in both the more traditional approach (linguistics, culture and history) and the study of the various aspects of contemporary China.

Staff: Research staff, 10; other staff (administration, library, assistants), 13.

Research and publications: No information available.

Teaching: The institute provides courses in Chinese language, history and culture, and courses on contemporary China at both the *kandidaats* and the *doctoraal* level.

Library: The library has an important specialised collection.

Finances: The institute is financed mainly by the University. No data on budget available.

APPENDIX B: Other Institutions

1. Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Research on these areas was not included in this survey, because a separate Ford Foundation study of this field has been undertaken. The two most important centres in the Netherlands are:

- Oost-Europa-Instituut, University of Amsterdam, Korte Spinhuissteeg 3, Amsterdam
- Dokumentatiebureau voor Oosteuropees Recht, University of Leiden, Rapenburg 82, Leiden (Eastern European and Soviet Law).

2. North America.

Likewise, studies on North America have been omitted. The only university institute in this field is:

- Amerika-Instituut, University of Amsterdam, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, Amsterdam.

3. Cultural Anthropology and Non-Western Sociology.

For reasons explained in the Survey, research in cultural anthropology and non-western sociology, undertaken outside the framework of the institutions covered by this survey, was not included. The major centres in this field are:

- Afdeling Niet-Westerse Sociologie, Sociaal-Wetenschappelijk Instituut, Free University, De Boelelaan 1105, Amsterdam
- Instituut voor Culturele Antropologie, University of Groningen, Oude Boteringenstraat 23, Groningen
- Instituut voor Culturele en Sociale Antropologie, Katholieke Universiteit, Verlengde Groenestraat 43, Nijmegen
- Instituut voor Culturele Antropologie, University of Utrecht, Heidelberglaan 2, Utrecht.

4. International Law and International Economics.

Apart from research and teaching in these fields in the framework of the institutions covered by the Survey we should mention the Vakgroepen (specialised groups) in International Law and International Organizations at the Universities of Amsterdam, Amsterdam (Free University), Groningen, Leiden, Nijmegen, Rotterdam, Tilburg and Utrecht. Research and teaching in International and Development Economics also exists at the Universities of Groningen, Leiden, Rotterdam, Tilburg and Wageningen.

ITALY

1. Introduction

This is a report on international studies in Italy. The word "report," rather than "survey," ought to be stressed from the outset. It should not be regarded as a complete inventory of all research, teaching and related activities dealing with international affairs that can currently be found in Italy.[1] It is, rather, an attempt to sketch the history of international studies in Italy and identify the main problems with which Italian scholars in this field are confronted today.

A member of the European Community and of countless other international organizations, a participant in the two World Wars, a former colonial power, Italy has led a very active international life ever since it first achieved unity and independence slightly over a century ago. As one would imagine, this international activism rests upon and in turn, generates a good deal of thinking about Italy's international role and about world affairs in general. This is true--but it has been essentially the kind of thinking, writing and debating that politicians and journalists do. Scholars, with the exception of historians, have not contributed much.

History and international law are the two disciplines which have dominated--virtually unchallenged--the field of international studies in Italy until recently. Political science entered the field only recently (by co-opting International Relations which until then was taught almost exclusively in the Law Departments) mainly thanks to the work of a few individuals and relatively isolated groups of scholars. These individuals are fighting hard to win recognition, and in the last few years have scored some important points. As for economics, some leading economists have been working on

---

Italy
Alessandro Silj, Consultant to the Ford Foundation, Rome.

international monetary and trade problems, but in most instances, their work in this area has remained marginal to their main research interests. Contrary to International Relations, international economics do not seem to have much of a future in Italian universities and are likely to remain the domain of a handful of scholars.

Area studies exist, but the quality of the work produced is generally poor. *Development* studies are virtually non-existent. The same can be said concerning *peace studies*, a field which in recent years has grown rapidly in other European countries.

Thus, international studies in Italy today represent a rather confused and scattered scene, with many blank spots and grey areas. There are over three hundred university courses in Italy dealing with one or other aspect of international affairs;[2] and there are dozens of institutes which call themselves "international": to list them all would be quite misleading. Again, my main preoccupation in writing this report has been to arrive at an overall view of the present situation. Special attention has been devoted to the new generation of scholars and to existing resources (human, financial, organizational) on which future developments will necessarily have to rest.

2. What are international studies?

In this report the term "international studies" will be used in its most general meaning. Most of the people I contacted in the universities and institutes asked what exactly I meant by "international studies." Law and History scholars tend to dismiss the term as meaningless or, at best, inaccurate. "Modern" political scientists, that is political scientists familiar with American literature, respond more positively but are also quick to point out that the term is far too broad and vague when applied to the Italian academic scene, and that it could lead to confusion. They were willing to discuss "international relations" but had little or nothing to say about area studies, for instance. They generally dismissed traditional international studies as the responsibility of Law and History departments[3] and irrelevant to their own research interests.

As I already mentioned, there is no shortage of university courses dealing with subjects or areas of studies which, either directly or indirectly, are "international." Students can complain about everything but lack of variety. I only listed disciplines and areas of studies by departments. In most instances I accepted the information I collected (mostly from university yearbooks) at face value, and only sought information concerning curricula for the three main categories listed below. The titles of some of the courses might, therefore, prove misleading. Furthermore, some "courses" may consist of only a few lectures a year, delivered by a busy teacher to a class of students who have chosen that course as an easy way of getting credits with a minimum of work. The fact that a course is offered in the name of a prestigious professor does not necessarily mean that serious students will get what they need and expect.[4]

It is not necessary to study in detail the various university courses to know that a report dealing with "international studies" in Italian universities must focus essentially on the three following subjects:

International Law
Diplomatic History (usually labelled as "Storia dei Trattati"--
  History of Diplomatic Treaties)
International Relations.

The latter is the youngest and, according to many observers, the most lively of the three.

In addition to these three areas of study this report also includes brief sections on area studies and on European studies, covering both university courses and the activities of research institutes.

The report does not deal with American studies, Soviet and East European studies, nor with international economics.[5]

Finally, the following disciplines were also not included: ethnology and anthropology, geography, literature and modern languages.

3. The growth of Political Science and International Relations. The battle between the old and the new.

Until recently Italian students interested in international affairs had no choice but to enrol in a Department (facoltà) of Law and then select international law as their dissertation subject (or political economy--which would allow them to focus on international economics). Some would simultaneously enroll in the Department of Political Science or attend a Course of Political Science in a Law Department, where subjects such as the History of Diplomatic Treaties, International Organization, or History and Institutions of Afro-Asian Countries are taught,[6] often by the same professors who teach them in the Law Department.[7] The purpose of these dual enrolments would be to seek a second degree or simply to attend courses relevant to their interest in international affairs normally not available in the Law Department Nevertheless, their main interest, if they had academic or professional ambitions, would still be to obtain a law degree because Departments of Political Science had lower status and almost universal lack of prestige.

This is still partly true today. However, in the last few years the situation has changed as a result of the growth and newly conquered academic prestige of the political sciences and the establishment of several chairs of International Relations in the Departments of Political Science.

It all started on October 31, 1968, when a governmental decree launched the long awaited reform of Political Science Departments. That decree crowned years of work and lobbying against many odds by Italian social scientists, and especially by a small group among them.[8] Undoubtedly the reform was also favored by a number of external factors, not least the growing exposure since the end of World War II to modern social science theories and techniques as taught and practiced in American universities. The coming age of Italian political scientists would never have happened or would have taken much longer, had so many of them not spent considerable periods of time in the United States, either as students or at an early stage of their academic career. Some of them, we know, never went back to Italy and are presently teaching in American universities but they too, contributed to the change in Italy, by acting as a link between Italian and American scholars, by feeding back to their colleagues in Italy information, literature, and a sense of excitement about what they were achieving in a freer and more flexible university structure and, last but not least, by setting an example of higher academic standards. The creation of COSPOS (Comitato per le Scienze Politiche e Sociali) in 1969, with the active participation of leading American social scientists, was also the result of greater interaction between American and Italian academics and a contribution to the modernization of Italian social sciences which has been far from negligible.[9] Another important factor was the new attitude of the younger generation of Italian students, and more specifically, their keen interest in problems of political and social change as well as their disenchantment with old university structures.[10]

Until 1968 departments (facoltà) of Political Science existed in seven Italian universities (the Catholic university of Milano, and the state universities at Firenze, Roma, Pavia, Padova, Perugia, Bologna) and Law Departments in 13 other universities also offered full political science programs leading to a degree (corsi de laurea).[11] With the only exception of Florence, where the department (Istituto "Cesare Alfieri") had been set up in 1944 under special legislation,[12] the curricula of all Political Science Departments lacked flexibility[13] and concentrated heavily on legal subjects. Out of a total of 17 compulsory subjects, 8 were legal, 4 were historic and another 4 economic--the 17th and lonely subject being geography. International affairs were represented mainly by the traditional subjects such as International Law and History of Diplomatic Treaties, and by some courses on the History and Institutions of Italy's former colonies and of other less developed countries (see Section 5 of this report). Conspicuously absent were two key subjects (or rather disciplines): political science itself and sociology. Most Italian scholars would agree that, throughout their existence and until very recently, Political Science Departments were little more than duplications of the Law Departments, and bad ones at that. They were formally autonomous, but at least 40% of their faculty (with tenure), of a total of 55, were jurists.

The reasons for this situation go back to the mid-1920's--the crucial year was 1924--when the first Departments of Political Science were created.[14] Those were also the years when the Fascist regime firmly established itself in power. Although this was only a historical coincidence, it was perceived by many as a cause-and-effect relationship. It is true, however, that as the years went by several of the new departments fell prey to fascist ideology and were taken over by academics who were members of the Fascist Party or were eager to please the new masters. Thus, in 1927 the University of Perugia set up its "Fascist Department of Political Science" to train students who were planning to engage in the following careers: diplomatic, colonial, corporative labor,[15] public administration, journalism. New subjects were added to the political science curriculum of Perugia University and other universities, such as History and Theory of Fascism, Corporative Law and even--in the early forties when the end was nearing--Demography of Race. At the end of World War II when the Italian Democratic Government moved to abolish or reform what was left of the Fascist regime, the very existence of all Political Science Departments was seriously endangered; and it was not until 1948 that the government took the necessary steps to insure their survival. That's exactly what the Political Science Departments did, during the next ten years or so: they barely succeeded in staying alive while fighting a long and difficult battle to change their image and gain credibility. They would probably never have made it had students not flocked to them in surprisingly large numbers. First-year enrolments had fallen to 949 in 1947-48 from over 2,000 in previous years, but started rising steadily after 1948 and were up to 11,586 in 1964-65.[16]

However, more students also meant more problems; and Political Science Departments were not the only ones struggling for survival. The whole Italian university system was under strain as a result of the growth of student population and of its inability to change. The crisis deepened as time passed. Vested academic interests and disagreement within the university world concerning the objectives and forms of the much needed reform were partly responsible. But, above all, the crisis reflected the failure of the various coalition governments and of the Italian Parliament to reach the political consensus which would enable them to approve new legislation. The history of that crisis is too long and complicated to be told here and is still far from resolved. No comprehensive reform plan has been approved at the time of writing. But instead, under the pressure of problems on which action could no longer be postponed and at the cost of total paralysis, stop-gap solutions were applied on a day-to-day, piece-meal basis.

Perhaps ironically, Political Science was the main beneficiary of this policy, or rather lack of policy. In May 1965 the Government submitted what, to date, has been the most advanced and constructive project for the reform of the Italian university system--the by now famous Bill No. 2314. Three years went by and the bill never made it to a final vote in the Italian Parliament. The end of the Legislature in May 1968 put an end to that effort and to the hopes it had raised.[17] Then on October 31, 1968, suddenly and to almost everyone's surprise, the Government enacted a decree for the reorganization of Political Science teaching in Italian universities. The decree which shortly thereafter was approved by Parliament and became law, was based largely on the by then defunct, 1965 reform bill.[18]

The most salient aspects of the new organization of Political Science curricula as set forth by the 1968 decree were: 1) a sharp reduction of legal subjects (out of 13 compulsory subjects--as opposed to 17 required up to 1968--only two are legal) and, 2) some degree of autonomy for each Political Science Department and for individual students concerning the choice of the seven other subjects to be included, with the 13 subjects prescribed by the decree, for the degree curriculum.

Specifically, the new 4-year program of studies is divided into two parts of 2 years each. The first one ("biennio propedeutico comune") is compulsory and common to all the Political Science Departments throughout the country. Its purpose is to give all students a basic training in subjects considered fundamental. The 1968 decree listed six such subjects, leaving the departments free to choose a further three subjects from a list of eight included in the decree. The second 2-year term offers five different options (the Italian word is "indirizzo," which in English can be translated as "orientation"). Here the student is free to choose the one most suited to his interests. The five options are: a) public administration, b) economics, c) international affairs, d) social policies and,

e) history.[19] For each "indirizzo" the department must designate a minimum of four (and a maximum of eight) subjects which are compulsory for all the students enrolled in that "indirizzo." The remaining subjects are chosen by the student among those offered by the department or, under certain conditions, also by other departments at the same university. A student must therefore pass 21 exams including two foreign language exams before discussing his dissertation.

Let us now look at what all this means, in practical terms, by examining the political science curricula as they exist today in some of the universities. For reasons of brevity and given the purpose of this report, we shall limit our remarks to option c)--international affairs. The curriculum of the first 2-year program at the Political Science Department of the University of Florence includes the following subjects: Public Law Institutions, History of Political Theories, Political Economy, Modern History and Statistics during the first year; and Italian & Comparative Constitutional Law, Sociology, Political Science, Economic & Financial Policy and English during the second year. These subjects constitute the body of basic political science training for all students. Those students who then move on to the international affairs program, option c) of the second 2-year term, are offered the following curriculum:

1) International Law
2) International Organization
3) Contemporary History
4) History of International Relations
5) French
6-7-8-9-10-11) To be chosen by each student according to his/her interests among the following optional subjects:

Labor Law
Private International Law
Diplomatic Law
International Economics
Political & Economic Geography
Private Law Institutions
Legal Institutions in Eastern Europe
International Relations
History of International Law
History of Eastern Europe
Theory and Policy of Development

Also optional, although not especially recommended:

Parliamentary Law
Comparative Politics
History of State-Church Relations
Economic History
History of Political Institutions.

The list of optional subjects still reflects the strong legal orientation inherited from the past. (Particularly striking, in this respect, is the presence on the list of a subject like Private Law Institutions.) It should be noted that History of International Relations belongs to the category of compulsory subjects, while International Relations itself is only optional.

The curriculum of option c) at the Political Science Department of the University of Turin is organized along different lines. On the one hand it offers a considerably wider range of choices to the student; on the other its list of compulsory subjects is perhaps more traditional and law oriented than the Florence one (International Relations, however, is included among the main subjects). The list is as follows:

1) Public International Law
2) To be chosen from:
    International Relations
    International Organization
    European Community Law
    Diplomatic Law
3-4-5-6) To be chosen from:
    Analysis of Political Language
    Italian and Comparative Constitutional Law
    Labor Law
    European Community Law[20]
    Diplomatic Law
    International Economics
    Political Philosophy
    Institutions of Criminal Law
    Institutions of Italian Law and Comparative Private Law
    Institutions of Public Law
    Comparative Political Institutions
    International Organization[20]
    International Relations[20]
    The remaining subjects can be chosen from the following subjects, grouped in four categories:
    A. Law:
        Administrative Law
        Commercial Law

Labor Law
Regional Law
Philosophy of Law[21]

B. History:
Contemporary History
History of Labor Movements
History of political parties & movements
History of State-Church Relations
History of Latin America
History of North America
History of Political Theories
History of Contemporary Political Thought
Economic History
History and Institutions of Islam

C. Social and Economic:
Economic Dynamics
Rural Political Economy
International Economics
Monetary Economics
Political Economy
Economic and Financial Policy
Political & Economic Geography
Financial Theory[22]
International Trade[22, 23]

D. Social and Political:
Analysis of Political Language
Political Science
Sociology
Sociology of Law
Sociology of Organization
Industrial Sociology

It is perhaps still too early to assess the real depth and extent of the changes which have occurred or are likely to occur as a result of the 1968 reform. The first generation of "new" political science students has only just graduated, in 1972-73.[24] Nevertheless, some trends have already emerged; and some of the scholars I interviewed while preparing this report have volunteered observations which are worth reporting. A word of caution is in order. Comments reflect situations which are still very much in a transitional stage and which may evolve rapidly during the new few years. The new legislation has left a number of points unclear, and the present stage must really be regarded as a period of experimentation, after 50 years of stagnation in this field. Adjustments will undoubtedly be made.

The sharp increase in student enrolment has not made life any easier for the Departments of Political Science, coming as it did in the midst of serious re-organizational problems. Of the 18 departments existing today, 11 were set up after 1968. The following table compares student enrolment in Political Science Departments with that in the Departments of Law and Economics ("Economia e commercio").[25]

Average Annual Rates of Increase of Student Enrolment
(per 100 students)

Departments	1960/61-1968/69	1968/69-1971/72
Political Science	5.10	44.10
Law	- 0.92	19.14
Economics	7.03	- 9.42
National Average (all departments, all universities)	9.38	11.40

In 1969-71 the rate of increase of first year Political Science enrolments (which is perhaps the most significant of all indicators) jumped to 75.4 (from 3.57 of 1961-1968), as opposed to 43 for Law Departments and -14 for Economics. The total number of Political Science students enrolled in 1971-72 was 35,724 (33% increase over the previous year).

As Professor L. Firpo put it,[26] "Thus these departments, most of which had just been set up, had been squeezed into whatever spare space the University had been able to find for them, lacked libraries and equipment, not to mention experienced teachers, and were invaded by an avalanche of students that would have disrupted many other and far better organized departments."

There were less than 9,000 Political Science students in Italy in 1960-61. There were 13,406 in 1968-69, 18,800 in 1968-69, 30,744 in 1970-71 and over 40,000 in 1971-72. While the annual increase has been of the order of 5% in the period 1960-68 (as opposed to a 9.38% increase for the overall student population in Italian universities), in the last three years for which data are available (1968-69 to 1971-72) the same percentage jumps to 44%, four times the national average for all disciplines and all universities. True, such a massive invasion can be partly explained by an oversight of the legislator when it set the number of compulsory examinations in the new Political Science Departments, 21 as opposed to 25 in the Economics departments--a difference which is not without importance when one considers that the average student in an Italian university usually takes approximately 4 or 5 examinations per year.[27] Another contributing factor is the rapidly growing share of women in the overall growth of the student population. Exact figures are not available. However, it is a fact that 30% of first year Political Science students in the 1969-72 period were women. Be that as it may, and independently of all the specific reasons which can account for it, the extraordinary growth of Political Science Departments since 1969 remains the most significant event in the history of the Italian social sciences in recent years.

In addition to the 18 Departments of Political Science one must also count 7 political science programs offered by Law Departments. Thus, in Italy there are today 25 universities where students can seek a degree (Dottorato) in Political Science.[28] All 18 departments but two (Rome and Urbino) have implemented the October 1968 decree at least in part. Nine universities already offer all five options ("indirizzi") for the second 2-year term, while another ten are offering at least three. The only "indirizzo" which has been implemented in virtually all political science courses[29] is Public Administration. History is being offered in 15, Social Policies in 16, and International Affairs in 14. These figures do not necessarily reflect the relative size and importance of each "indirizzo." Thus, for instance, in 1972-73 in Florence, Public Administration was the choice of 14% of the students enrolled in the second 2-year term, but 23.2% had opted for International Affairs.[30] Moreover, History of International Relations, International Law, and other "international" subjects are also included in the curricula of some of the other "indirizzi"--although one could argue that this barely compensates the heavy presence of legal and other "foreign" subjects on the international affairs curriculum.

International Relations itself is still very much of a novelty in Italian universities. It won recognition some five years ago, in 1968-69, and is presently being taught in three universities: Florence, Turin, Catania (and Padova, where however, it is is being taught by the professor who holds the chair of History of Diplomatic Treaties). As I already remarked, in Florence, International Relations is not yet on the list of compulsory subjects for students of Political Science. In Catania, it was made compulsory only this year (1974)--however, it is included among optional subjects in the other four "indirizzi."

Altogether, there are about 10-12 people in Italy today who can be regarded as international relations scholars. The Political Science departments at the universities of Florence, Turin and

Catania are the only ones to have set up chairs of International Relations. None of them has yet been formally filled; that is, none of the three professors who teach International Relations in these three universities have tenure, although it is anticipated that they will eventually be appointed. They are presently "professori incaricati."[31] Professor U. Gori of Florence, a graduate in Law, has worked for some years at the Italian Society for International Organization before moving on to political science and international relations. The other two, A. Papisca of Catania and L. Bonanate of Turin, are both younger than Gori.[32] Because of their age, by Italian university standards they would not normally be in these senior positions, virtually assured of being appointed to chairs. On the other hand, they have very few competitors, as they are among the first in Italy to have "discovered" International Relations.

Not surprisingly, the meteoric rise of Political Science in the Italian university system has been viewed somewhat skeptically and critically by scholars belonging to older, more traditional disciplines such as Law and History. This was inevitable, since the main preoccupation of political scientists in their 45-year long fight was that of asserting their own distinct personality--that involved, above all, freeing themselves from the patronage of Law Departments. Inevitably, there were endless and occasionally bitter disputes on which subject belonged to whom. The problem was both theoretical and organizational. As I pointed out earlier, until 1968-69 the majority of existing Political Science Departments were little else than a duplication of Law Departments, and there are still today Law Departments which host political science programs. Even in the most advanced Political Science Departments, the influence of Law and History scholars is still very much felt. As for International Relations in particular, its appearance on the Italian academic scene sprang to a large extent from the feeling, among young political scientists, that such subjects as international law and history of diplomatic treaties could no longer adequately meet (and perhaps never had met) the needs of international relations students. Thus, "traditional" scholars do little to hide their lack of sympathy and esteem for the young turks of Italian political science.[33] The battle is far from over.

These differences should not be over-dramatized. Most would agree that they are only natural. Italian academia is old fashioned. The Italian university system is old, and inadequate to meet the demands that are placed upon it. There are vested interests. It is true that the system has not proved very receptive to change. To put all the blame on the "politicians" would amount to telling only half the truth. Therefore, those who seek change cannot do so gently. Their resentment at the power structure, both within and outside the university, reflects years of frustrations. As a matter of fact, many History and Law scholars would agree that the current debate may yield some useful results also for their own disciplines. As one of them put it, "Just because of the challenge, if for nothing else. It has made us take a more thoughtful look at the state of our own discipline, where it stands--in general, and in Italy in particular, whether or not there is something wrong in our way of teaching it, and so forth." The days of the "old" disciplines are not yet over. Students of international affairs need international law just as much as they need international relations. But the latter is new, and therefore, is bound to grow and cannot grow unless it acts boldly. The former has all the advantages and weaknesses of the academic establishment, it has held the monopoly of international studies for too long and today has no choice but to accept the presence of the newcomers.

It is not easy to forecast the rate of growth of International Relations. It will depend in part on how well Political Science departments will perform in the next decade or so. It will depend also on student response--if that response remains high and keeps growing, teachers of International Relations will be that much stronger in claiming their share of their department's scarce resources. On the grounds of available data and information collected in the course of my interviews it seems that International Relations is becoming increasingly popular among students.[34] However, comparisons are not easy. Traditional subjects such as International Law are compulsory (students have to pass that examination if they wish to qualify for the degree), while in most cases International Relations is still only optional.

Professors of International Relations work in appallingly bad conditions (although their plight is shared by many colleagues in other fields, this is only a token consolation): lack of office space, lack of equipment and library resources, little or no research assistance . . . . . The Department of Political Science at the University of Florence seems better off than those at Catania and Turin. Then there is the problem of research money. There is no shortage of funds for research in Italian universities, if one can judge from the fact that it is not unusual for university institutes or departments, at the end of the year, to have to shop around for ideas and projects in which to invest the money they have been unable to spend during the previous months.[35] This does not seem to be the case for Political Science Departments. That the Political Sciences are not represented, at least not at the working level, in the National Research Council, may be one explanation. None of the candidates designated by the Political Science Departments has yet managed to get elected to the Legal and Political Sciences Committee (Comitato delle Scienze Giuridiche e Politiche) of the Council, responsible for the allocation of research funds in those areas which are (also) of interest to political scientists. This particular situation is in part a reflection of the overall situation of the social sciences, at least as far as their representation in the National Research Council is concerned. It confirms how scattered and disorganized Italian social sciences are--so that they are usually in the minority (in the Council's committees as well as in other academic organizations) and unable to muster the kind of support they need. Under the circumstances, it becomes virtually impossible to develop an overall, coordinated research strategy.

One of the reasons for all this is, of course, historical. As I remarked earlier, until recently Political Science was regarded as a second-class discipline. Hence, it comes as no surprise that political scientists in terms of sheer numbers are still only a small minority in Italian academia. Their relative weakness is particularly evident when one looks at the list of tenured faculty.[36] Careers are slow and some of the best scholars and teachers in Italian universities are still only "professori incaricati," that is without tenure, and may have to wait indefinitely before they are given tenure. According to 1972 data, Law Departments had an average of 18 professors with tenure and Economics Departments had 15--while Political Science Departments had only 5.[37] In fact, the actual gap is even wider, because of the relative large number of Law professors who teach in Political Science (and Economics) Departments. It will take years before the gap is at least partially filled.

The position of International Relations is even weaker, in relative terms, in fact much weaker than that of Political Science as a whole. Again, this should come as no surprise. While Political Science is 50 years old, International Relations was born yesterday.

Is this situation likely to improve? The answer I received almost everywhere when asking this question was affirmative. Although I would tend to agree with this view, I hasten to add that most of the replies were intuitive and not based on hard facts. However, there are two factors which undoubtedly support that opinion. One I already mentioned, namely the growing popularity of the subject among students. The other is that a number of Political Science Departments are planning to follow the example of Florence, Turin and Catania, and set up International Relations chairs.

The most serious problem likely to arise over the next four to five years will be that of human resources, namely the recruitment of sufficiently well-trained teachers. Much will depend on how many Political Science students have chosen or will choose International Relations as a dissertation subject in these first crucial years;

278

and how much fellowship money will be available to allow the most gifted among them to pursue their research interests.

The momentum is there. According to one of the scholars I interviewed, "the next five years may be for International Relations what the past five years have been for Political Science."

Recent developments seem to indicate that the notion of *international studies* seen in a more inter-disciplinary, comprehensive perspective than the single subject of "international relations," is gaining ground among international relations scholars. Thus, in February 1974, the University of Catania (one of the most rapidly growing universities in Italy) set up a *Dipartimento* of International Sciences. The word *dipartimento* in this case is used in its proper sense--meaning an inter-disciplinary department,[38] as defined by the 1969 bill reforming Political Science Departments. The Department of International Sciences of Catania is planning to teach *and do research* in a variety of fields: International Relations is, of course, among them, alongside International Law and others, such as International Economics. The novelty of this approach within the Italian university system cannot pass unnoticed and may pave the way for similar experiments in other universities.

4. The institutes

This section of the report includes a brief description of the main international affairs institutes in Italy[39] followed by a discussion of some aspects of their work and an overall assessment of their role in the field of international studies in Italy today. Institutes that work specifically on certain regions of the world will be examined in Section 5, dealing with area studies.

S.I.O.I.--*Societa' Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale* (Italian Society for International Organization).

The Society was created in 1944 by a group of scholars, politicians and businessmen concerned about Italy's isolation on the international scene after her defeat in World War II and 20 years of Fascist regime. Its headquarters are in Rome, but it also operates through local offices in five other cities. It has a small endowment but most of its income derives from private contributions and subsidies from the Italian Ministry for External Affairs. Its main areas of interest in recent years have been European unification, European security and arms control, the role of the United Nations and other international organizations as guardians of world peace. Its activities consist mainly of conferences and seminars.

These are usually, though not always, one-day events. The participants are mostly politicians, diplomats and other civil servants, journalists,[40] and representatives of international organizations.[41]

SIOI holds an annual course for candidates to the Foreign Service (the course is based on approximately 20 seminars, covering a wide range of subjects and some language classes. It is co-sponsored with the Diplomatic Institute).[42] Other training activities include seminars for businessmen on various aspects of international economic relations, seminars on the U. N. and other international organizations co-sponsored with the Political Science Department of the University of Rome, and other seminars on specific topics held jointly with or on behalf of international organizations.

Also worth mentioning are SIOI's courses on international affairs for secondary school teachers, co-sponsored and funded by the Italian Ministry for Education, with an annual participation close to one thousand teachers from all parts of Italy. At least two of these courses last two weeks and are full-time seminars, the others (usually three to four each year) are spread over a period of four months. Some include working groups of students and teachers. Surveys are used to identify issues and approaches of importance to the teaching of international affairs in secondary schools. Although the main purpose of this activity is to train teachers, SIOI also makes use of the network of past and current participants in its courses for the dissemination of information and documentation on international issues in Italian schools and to promote participation from teachers and students in some of the activities sponsored by international organizations.

SIOI publishes a quarterly magazine, La Comunita' Internazionale (articles, reviews, bibliography) as well as occasional papers and books. Its library has a good collection of Italian and foreign international affairs journals. It is also a depository library for U. N., GATT, Council of Europe, European Community and OECD publications. In addition to its own collection, SIOI houses the library of the Italian Institute of International Law.

The Society has no research staff and no real research program. It does occasionally commission papers for its seminars[43] and has on occasions also organized working groups, with the participation of outside experts, to study problems of relevance to the Society's interest in international organization.[44]

I.S.P.I.--Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (Institute for the Study of International Politics).

The Institute was set up in 1934 as a non-profit association. It is based in Milan. Its activities cover virtually every aspect of international relations. It has a small research staff divided into nine sections: Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa, Asia, Middle East, International Organizations, International Economics. However here again, as in the case of SIOI, the term "research" should not be read as evidence that the Institute does much systematic or original research. The main task of ISPI's nine regional offices is the collection and cataloguing of data and documentation, to be used in ISPI's seminars and courses or as part of ISPI's reference service. Part of this material is published in ISPI's weekly magazine and other ISPI publications.

Other activities include a post-graduate seminar on international politics and a resident trainees program.

The Seminar, which runs from November to May, is organized around a series of conferences, lectures, and occasionally also of working groups. The subjects taught are: diplomatic history, international sociology, issues of the day, methodology and management of diplomacy, and foreign languages.[45] Lecturers are chosen among national and international civil servants, politicians, academics, and the Institute's staff. Like SIOI, the Institute considers the training of candidates to the Italian Foreign Service and prospective international civil servants and businessmen one of its main functions.[46] Like SIOI's, ISPI's seminars for candidates to the Foreign Service are sponsored by the Italian Ministry for External Affairs.

Approximately 12 fellowships are awarded every year by ISPI under the resident trainees program. The duration of each fellowship is usually 10 months and trainees must spend the entire period at ISPI's research unit.[47] Only students with a university degree and with a special interest in international affairs are eligible. A certain number of fellowships is reserved for candidates to the Italian Foreign Service. Finally, fellowships are also awarded to students from the Third World who intend to specialize in international affairs and who have been studying in Italian universities. The Institute also hosts students of international affairs from the Third World who have been awarded fellowships from their home university or government.

In addition to its regular courses ISPI organizes occasional series of lectures devoted to specific topics (such as "The Economics of International Organizations," "The Atlantic Alliance," "Great Diplomats of All Times," "The European Community's international relations," etc.).

ISPI publishes a weekly, Relazioni Internazionali, and a quarterly, Diritto Internazionale. The first one is essentially a documentation service (including translations into Italian of foreign policy statements, conference reports and papers produced by OECD, U.N. agencies, the European Community and other international organizations); it also publishes special issues devoted to one particular country or region or problem. The journal *Diritto Internazionale* is also largely a documentation bulletin. It publishes a list of all bilateral and multilateral international agreements signed by the Italian government, the text of Italian legislation dealing with international issues, reviews and a bibliography. However, it also publishes articles and notes by international law scholars and experts. ISPI also publishes a *Yearbook of International Politics*.

I. A. I.--Istituto per gli Affari Internazionali (International Affairs Institute).

The International Affairs Institute in Rome, was set up in 1966 by Altiero Spinelli, with a grant from the Ford Foundation.[48] A European Federalist, Spinelli was one of the most independent and unorthodox personalities on the Italian scene.[49] According to Spinelli and his associates, the existing institutes were too traditional, old-fashioned, and above all they all reflected, in varying degrees, the official thinking of the Italian Government and of its leading political party, the Christian Democrats. In short, they lacked originality and independence.[50] IAI was to offer alternative views on Italian foreign policy and international issues, based on serious research. The models Spinelli and his associates had in mind were the international affairs institute existing in such countries as the United States and England, e.g. Chatham House and, for research on European policies, John Pinder's P.E.P.

If one looks at IAI today, eight years later, it is fairly obvious that those expectations have only been met in part. The change of leadership at the Institute's moment of take-off, the turnover of personnel[51] and the failure to insure long-term funding have slowed down the growth of IAI. However, the fact remains that IAI is the most "modern" of all the international affairs institutes operating in Italy today. Significantly, it is also the only one regularly invited to international conferences and to the periodical working meetings of the major European and American international affairs institutes.

Since it was created in 1966 the Institute has been especially active in the area of European politics and related issues--especially trans-Atlantic relations. IAI has also devoted continuing attention to Italian foreign policy over the years.[52] Lately, IAI's *research* effort has focused mainly in the two following areas:

1) Strategic studies. IAI is the only institute in Italy where problems of European security and strategic issues in general are studied systematically, thanks, above all, to the expertise and activity of the Institute's Deputy Director, Stefano Silvestri.

2) Mediterranean Studies. A 3-year project on strategic, political and economic problems of the Mediterranean basin was launched in 1974. The IAI team is assisted by an international Advisory Committee; experts and scholars from Europe, North Africa and the Middle East will participate in the project.

The Institute is also doing research jointly with the Council of European Local Authorities on regional policies of the European Community.

European security, East-West relations, Italy in the European Community, Italian foreign policy and the Italian Press were among the topics of recent IAI conferences and seminars.

Also worth mentioning are the bilateral meetings which IAI holds periodically with other European international affairs institutes, namely Chatham House, the Atlantic Institute, the Institute of Politics and Economy in Belgrade and the Moscow Institute of World Economy and International Relations.

IAI publishes a quarterly, *Lo Spettatore Internazionale* and, since 1973, a *Yearbook* on Italian foreign policy (see note 52). It also publishes books (printed and distributed by *Il Mulino* of Bologna) and occasional papers.[53] These publications include reports on research done at the Institute and studies by outside scholars and experts. IAI is the only institute in Italy which publishes regularly translations of contemporary international affairs studies by non-Italian authors.[54] IAI also publishes an English summary of *Lo Spettatore Internazionale*, which is sold abroad (including the United States). This is a useful tool in IAI's effort to de-provincialize Italy's international affairs writers. Although its circulation is not large, it is the only available channel for bringing non-governmental, non-official Italian thinking on international affairs to the attention of the outside world.

I. P. A. L. M. O.--Istituto per le Relazioni con i Paesi dell'Africa, America Latina e Medio Oriente (Institute for the Relations with African, Latin American and Middle Eastern Countries).

In spite of its name, the work done at IPALMO is not, at least in principle, narrowly limited to the problems of Italy's relations with Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, but deals with international affairs generally--the assumption being that one can only study LDCs in a larger, world-wide context.

Based in Rome, IPALMO is the most recent of the Italian international affairs institutes. It is barely three years old at the time of writing. It has a full-time staff of approximately 10 people, including 4 researchers.[55] Of the four institutes discussed in this report IPALMO has the strongest political connotation. It is to the left of the political spectrum of international affairs institutes. Characteristically, the leadership of the Institute includes both Communist and Catholic intellectuals--which makes it, in the view of many, a forerunner of what they regard as the only viable solution to the Italian political deadlock, namely the entry of the Communist Party into a coalition government. Not surprisingly, IPALMO's main area of interest is the problem of Italy's (and Europe's) relations with the Third World, where ideologically and politically the positions of Communists and Catholics are not too far apart.[56] Other topics, such as NATO, on which opinions are likely to differ, are only marginally dealt with.[57]

So far IPALMO's main activities have consisted of conferences, seminars, and travel.[58] Topics have included "Development in the Mediterranean basin," "Relations between the European Community and its African associates" and "Development in Latin America." IPALMO also organized, in March 1973, a 2-day meeting on the present state of Arabic studies in Italy, in secondary schools, universities, political parties and in the press. Its 1973 and 1974 activities were focused on problems of the less developed countries in the context of international trade and financial negotiations.

IPALMO publishes Politica Internazionale, which started off as a quarterly and was recently converted into a monthly. Its contents include articles by Italian and foreign experts. Some of the latter are published in their original language, usually French or English. Summaries in English and French of articles by Italian authors have been included in recent issues. IPALMO also publishes occasional papers--mainly articles by the Institute's staff or proceedings of conferences and seminars.

As indicated earlier, the institutes discussed in this section have not been described in order of importance, nor do they represent the totality of international affairs institutes operating in Italy. However, SIOI, ISPI, IAI and IPALMO (the latter less so) are generally regarded as the four main non-university institutions in Italy concerned with international affairs in the broad sense.[59] There are others. The fact that they have been omitted from this report does not necessarily reflect a negative evaluation of their quality or the usefulness of their work but may be due, for instance, to the particular focus of their activity. The Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale in Gorizia (Institute of International Sociology) is a case in point. It is active in the field of "sociology of international relations" and its activities have included topics of general relevance to students of international affairs[60] but its main interest and work is on problems of border areas and ethnic minorities. Given the geographical position of Gorizia, at the border between Italy and Jugoslavia, this is understandable.

To assess the quality and impact of the work done at these institutes is not an easy task. It would be a mistake to evaluate their performance by the criteria generally applied in evaluating international studies centers or institutes in a country like the United States. In the United States and in other countries where social sciences are fairly well advanced, most international affairs institutes are university institutes or are in one way or another affiliated with a university. They benefit from such an affiliation, both intellectually and financially. In Italy none of the institutes has connections with the universities. Why is this so? Basically because of the lack of tradition in this respect. However, some university scholars sit on the boards or take an active part in planning the activities of some of these institutes. Ironically, this is more the case for institutes like SIOI and ISPI, than IAI--the institute with a strong research component--which has failed (or maybe not even tried) to involve academics in its program in any systematic way.

Most research done at international affairs institutes is based on secondary sources and the techniques applied compare unfavorably with modern social science techniques.

What then is the role of these institutes in Italy?

The answer must be found to some extent, I think, in the relative seclusiveness or aloofness of Italian academia. Unlike the American system, the Italian system lacks the flexibility (both in attitudes and structures) which allows a professor to take a one- or two-year leave from his teaching duties and work in the government or in some other public capacity.[61] True, a few professors (that is, half a dozen at most), whose specialisation is in international law or history of diplomatic treaties, work as consultants to the Ministry for External Affairs or as personal advisers to one or other cabinet member. Others write columns in the daily or weekly press. But they have always done this in an individual, "moonlighting" capacity. There is no systematic link, in Italy, between academia and government.[62]

With these considerations in mind, the role of international affairs institutes in Italy can be more easily understood. Their role is essentially two-fold:

To provide information for civil servants, politicians, journalists, businessmen, and only occasionally for scholars;

To be a forum for public debate of contemporary international issues.

They perform this dual role through their publications, conferences and seminars.

Their third role can be compared to that of a "decompression chamber" for young people who are interested in international affairs but cannot find an outlet in the university system. However, this is a strictly limited role. IAI and other institutes may attract people at a very early stage in their career but they cannot hold them for long as there is no financial security. The case of IAI is fairly typical: so far IAI's policy has been to hire bright young people; it has done so not only because they were bright, but also because they were young and therefore demanded lower salaries. During the last three years IAI has lost at least three members of its research staff: two followed Spinelli to Brussels and one was hired by UNDP. This raises the real problem of the dependence of international affairs institutes[63] on political affiliations. Both SIOI and ISPI are basically establishment oriented--each is a forum where politicians and other public figures can say what they have to say about Italy's foreign policy and world affairs. Their activities are seldom sectarian, but they are unlikely to do anything which would hurt their reputation and reliability as middle-of-the-road institutions. It is unlikely that any Italian government would cut off their annual subsidies. On the other hand an organization like IPALMO clearly owes its relative financial stability to the political forces and interests which brought it into existence in the first place.

Firm figures are not available. Besides, they vary from one year to the next.[64] However, according to reliable estimates, the budgets of institutes like SIOI or ISPI do not normally exceed $300,000 per year. IAI's income is about half that amount. These figures include administration and program costs. In view of these small budgets, it would be unfair and unrealistic to expect these institutes to do much more than they are presently doing.

The conclusion to be drawn from the present situation is fairly obvious: in the absence of a major commitment by private foundations or other private sources, or of legislation establishing a national policy in this field (freeing the institutes from the necessity of political backing for their financial survival,)[65] the future of independent research organizations is bound to be grim.

5. Area studies

American studies and Soviet and Eastern European studies would have been the only area studies worth mentioning in Italy today (although they too, are under-developed and share all the problems that plague international relations and other international subjects) but for reasons given earlier (page 263) they are not included in this report.

The case of Latin America is fairly representative of the general situation of area studies in Italy.[66] There are virtually no courses in the university, and the I.I.L.A. (Italian-Latin American Institute), until a year ago the only institute (there are two now), does not do research. It was set up in 1966 by international convention, signed by the Italian Minister for External Affairs and the representatives of all twenty Latin-American countries, and all the member countries contribute to its budget.[67] While some of the Institute's conferences deal with economic relations between Italy and Latin America, the bulk of the activities, so far, have been concerned with literature and the arts, including the organization of art shows. The Institute also organizes visits, in both directions, for groups of parliamentarians and other politicians. In short, IILA is, above all, a high level public relations operation.[68]

A Research Center on Latin America was set up in Florence in 1973. It is run by academics and has received money from the National Research Council. However, it is still too early to predict what its contribution to Latin American studies will be.

The situation as far as Asia is concerned is even worse--an understatement if ever there was one. Contemporary Asiatic studies are virtually unknown in Italy. Most of the university courses entitled History and Institutions of Afro-Asian Countries ignore Asia altogether. There are no institutes working specifically on Asian problems.

The picture looks a bit brighter when one looks at Africanist and Middle East studies--not so much for what they offer today, but for their potential development. The situation today is essentially transitional. The main contribution of Italian Africanists has been in the fields of history, law, philology and ethnology.[69] The Italian archives on Africa rank second only to those of the Vatican and Portuguese. A "Guide to the sources of the history of Africa south of the Sahara" was completed in 1968, under the auspices of Unesco and the International Council on Archives. There are a number of good Italian scholars in African law including Michele Amari, the founder of Italian Arabic studies, and A. d'Emilia, who used to teach Muslim Law at the University of Rome. The two disciplines where almost no work has been done are economics and political science.

A number of courses on the History and Institutions of Afro-Asian countries were started in the late Fifties, replacing some of the "colonial" subjects inherited from the Fascist era (e.g. colonial law, colonial politics, etc.)[70] They consist of a mélange of constitutional and international law, modern history and a smattering of Afro-Asian economics. Their prestige in the Italian university world is anything but high. Finally, there is the course at the Institute for Oriental Studies at the University of Naples in its recently created African Section. But here too, economics and political science are not represented. Among the few non-university institutes with an interest in African affairs, we find the I.I.A. (Italian Institute for Africa) in Rome. The Institute was set up in 1906. It is presently administered by a government commissioner and its reorganization is under way. At this point its future is uncertain and, in any event, it is unlikely to become a research-oriented institution.

One institute can be graded above average, namely the *Istituto per L'Oriente* in Rome (it enjoys a good reputation both in Italy and among foreign experts). It is especially active in Middle East affairs. Not long ago, it started the publication of a series of volumes entitled "Studies on the Near East in Italy, 1921-70." Its journal, *Oriente Moderno*, is well known in Italy and abroad.

What I have said about areas studies,[71] at least in part, also explains the almost total dearth of *development studies* in Italy. The School of Sociology at the University of Rome runs a course on the "sociology of developing countries," and development studies do exist at some of the universities offering courses on the history and institutions of Africa and Asia.[72] There is a course of development economics at the University of Portici, in Naples, but it is largely confined to development in Southern Italy. Finally, one should mention the *Centro Studi Terzo Mondo* (Center for the Study of the Third World) in Milan. This was set up in 1964 to promote research on the political, social, economic and cultural problems of the less developed countries. But in this case, as for most Italian institutes, the bulk of the activities consists of conferences rather than research; and the dividing line between social sciences, language and ideology is not easily drawn.[73] The Center has produced a number of documentary films on some of the less developed countries.

What are the reasons for the situation described in the preceding pages?

Undoubtedly, the law- and history-oriented tradition of Italian universities is an important reason. As a young Africanist scholar has recently put it, "In present-day Italy [Italian universities] almost every problem is seen in historical terms, and the more empirical and analytical social sciences are practically ignored. For example, the history of philosophy, rather than philosophy itself, is taught. Similarly with Africanist studies we find attention focussed on the history of African countries, rather than upon the scientific study of African political structures."[74] At a meeting organized by IPALMO in June 1972 on "the state of knowledge in Italy today on problems of the Third World" the paper submitted by one of the participants,[75] included the following statement:

> The study of political science--namely the analysis and direct observation of a political system (or of a system of political interactions)--is a very new phenomenon in Italy and is regarded with great diffidence. As Prof. Sartori has often remarked: "Our Political Science Departments exist only in name--politics is not their subject of scientific investigation, and conversely science is tolerated only as long as it does not touch on politics." When for instance, we say that in a Political Science Department a course of History and Institutions of Afro-Asian Countries should be taught from a political perspective (and I for one believe that this means, above all, a methodological perspective), we are told we are heretics, if not outright revolutionaries. . . . True, these courses have now been modernized: they all teach decolonization processes, development, cooperation with Europe, etc., but almost always and only from a historical point of view. The fact that the subject is being taught in a Political Science Department doesn't make any difference whatsoever.[76]

But perhaps the real, more direct cause of the present state of affairs lies elsewhere. Area and development studies in Italy find themselves in some sort of a limbo: they were born in a state-controlled university system at a time when the myth of an "Italian Africa" and the rhetoric of colonial policy was at the peak of popularity; they then suffered from the general backlash against colonialism in general, and the Fascism regime in particular; and they have not yet fully found a new identity. In the meantime, the ideologies and politics of the East-West and North-South confrontation have made it difficult for academics and especially for young scholars, to avoid the dangers of politicization and political exploitation of scholarship.[77]

At a more down-to-earth level, area studies are suffering from a lack of organization and shortage of funds which hamper international studies in general. For instance, the insufficient level of funding for travel and study awards and language training is a serious problem. Many, if not the majority of Italian scholars interested in African and Latin American affairs, have never visited the countries they write about. Writing a dissertation on African or Latin American politics is regarded as some kind of a luxury, as in most instances, students must pay their travel and other expenses out of their own pockets. If they have access to sources of money not normally available they are considered privileged.

What are the prospects of area studies for the future?

Progress in the universities is bound to be slow. In the meantime, relevant research is more likely to emerge from the institutes,[78] but only if adequate funds are made available and if the institutes, or at least some of them, will learn the art of organizing and conducting research independently of the needs and wishes of their political sponsors. This is, of course, a big if. The other crucial problem is the establishment of a working relationship between the institutes and the universities.[79] This does not exist at present.

6. European studies

A category of international studies which falls somewhere between Italian foreign policy and international organization studies is that of "European studies." It is probably closer to policy-oriented research than any other subject described in this report. It usually designates research and related activities concerned with problems of the European Community. That it should have become especially important in Italy is only natural. European unification, or rather integration, as it is currently called, has been the cornerstone of Italy's foreign policy since World War II. It has been regarded as a means of bringing Italy back into the international community, offering Italy an opportunity to play a relevant role; and as a means of solving some of the economic and social problems of the country. In this sense it has attracted not only students of international relations but also scholars and experts interested in domestic policies, and this has perhaps been its most salient characteristic, and may explain its relatively rapid growth and popularity.[80]

From the beginning, and to a lesser degree this is still true today, European studies have had a strong legal orientation. Thus Community Law is one of the subjects most frequently taught. Economics as a discipline obviously has a good deal to contribute to the field of European studies, but it has also benefitted from the lively interest in the European Community and in integration processes which developed in Italian universities in the mid- and late Fifties. To give one example, it was at the time when many students were preparing dissertations on a European Community related subject that modern theory of international trade was "discovered" in courses such as Political Economy within the Law Departments. Until then it had been non-existent or marginal in the curricula.

Today European Community Law is being taught--as a subject in its own right--in well over half of the Political Science and Law Departments,[81] and it is also included (especially in departments where there is no Community Law course) in International Organization courses.[82] The European Community is also studied in the context of other courses, such as History of Diplomatic Treaties, International Trade and International Economics. No exact data are available concerning the number of courses, dissertations, etc. and it is therefore difficult to assess the actual size and importance of European studies in Italian universities.[83]

In this context, it is not without significance that the largest share of the National Research Council's funds for international studies in 1969/1970/1971 (the three most recent years for which data are available) was spent in the field of European studies.[84]

It should also be mentioned that in addition to regular university courses there are some post-graduate university institutes which are active in the European field. The *Scuola di Specializzazione in Diritto ed Economia delle Organizzazioni Internazionali* at the Law Department of the University of Parma was set up in 1968. Although it deals generally with international organization problems, the bulk of its work is on legal, economic and social problems of the European Community. Its courses last two years and[85] are attended by recent graduates either interested in doing research on the Community or wishing to become international civil servants (with the European Community or elsewhere).

A similar 2-year course is offered by the *Scuola di Perfezionamento in Studi Europei* in the Economics Department of the University of Rome.

A one-year course is offered by the *Centro Studi sulle Comunita' Europee*, jointly organized by the Departments of Economics, Law and Political Science of the University of Pavia.

A multi-disciplinary one-year course was also available until 1972-73 at the *Istituto Universitario di Studi Europei* in Turin. Since 1973-74 the Institute is using a new approach, based on specific research topics. The topics in the first year were "Economic policy in the Community" and "The re-organization of local authorities in Europe." The study of each topic is organized around a series of lectures and seminars lasting from 1 to 3 months.

All these courses are also open to foreign students.

Finally, there is the *Istituto Superiore di Studi Politici* in Reggio Calabria, created in 1971. It is directed by Professor Papisca, who teaches International Relations in Catania. As the title suggests the Institute is not specifically and exclusively geared to European politics. Instead, and this is what makes it rather unique, it attempts to relate Community problems and politics to the problems of the region (Calabria), which is one of the least developed areas in Southern Italy. The Institute has received financial support from the *Cassa del Mezzogiorno*, the State organization responsible for development programs in Southern Italy. Some 20 students participate in these courses, usually organized around a series of seminars lasting 10 days each. The topics of the seminar program reflect the Institute's special interests (e.g. "workers participation in European industry," "environmental policies"). The Institute has also conducted a survey of attitudes of local elites toward the European Community.

In assessing the importance of European studies it is important to bear in mind that European studies frequently go beyond the study of the organization and policies of the European Community. It would be true to say that the study of the Community has triggered interest and promoted studies on a wider set of international issues, such as international trade, East-West relations, strategic problems, the relations between the industrialized world and the less developed countries, etc. The assumption is that better understanding of these problems is essential to the appraisal of European unification and the role of a new Europe in the world. This interest is not likely to disappear with the fading of Jean Monnet's "dream" of a united Europe. On the contrary. Students and scholars who have been disillusioned by Europe's inability to work out common policies are now asking themselves what went wrong with Monnet's "functionalist" approach and raising the question of whether new approaches, and a new definition of Europe's identity and role in world politics should and can be found.

It may be worth noting, in closing this brief section on European studies, that some of the scholars to whom I have talked have expressed the opinion that the two areas of international studies with the greatest potential for development in Italy over the next few years are Europe (the Community--but not necessarily only the Community) and the Mediterranean--because these are the two "natural" areas on which Italy's attention and interests must necessarily focus.

7. Publications

All the scholars I interviewed, without exception, mentioned the paucity of Italian language text-books and of books in general on international affairs as one of the main difficulties that confront teachers in the field. A quick look at the bibliography and reading lists published in the student guides and yearbooks of Political Science Departments is enough to confirm this. The problem is a particularly serious one for students--and hence it is a great worry for teachers. As for research, the difficulties are less (although not in terms of costs) because most advanced scholars read English.

(As I pointed out earlier, several Italian political scientists studied, taught or did research in the United States.) Nevertheless, the dearth of Italian translations of the international affairs literature is an important factor.

Why is there such a paucity of translations? The two main reasons cited are, 1) the high cost of good translation and, 2) the limited readership for international affairs books--which discourages publishers from making a systematic effort in this area. Raymond Aron, Henry Kissinger, Karl Deutsch and other luminaries do get translated. But publishers do not always seem to appreciate the difference between serious books and more volatile ones. Both Tocqueville and Servan-Scheiber have written about the United States, both sell, both make it to the publication list. In short, the publication of international affairs books in Italy is a purely commercial operation; potentially successful books are translated (often badly) and printed even if they are not particularly good; while serious scholarly works are often ignored.

Here too, as in so many other areas of Italian life, politics are a major factor. The politicization of culture also affects international affairs. Ideology is often given more importance than knowledge, propaganda is more appealing than information. Publishers will print countless essays by obscure African authors and countless books on Vietnam, guerrilla warfare in Latin America, fascism and counter-revolution in the less developed world. But "classics" in international studies found on the reading list of most universities around the world and considered fundamental for the understanding of international relations are still unknown in Italy.

An important factor in this state of affairs is absence of a university press in Italy (at most, some university departments publish their own collection of occasional papers and books). Perhaps the closest thing to a university press (a nation-wide university press) in Italy is the publishing house Giuffre', which over the years has published a large number of dissertations as well as books by scholars. The Giuffre' catalogue includes several titles on international law related subjects and on problems of the European Community. However, once again this is in fact a commercial operation (many dissertations get printed at the authors' expense or if Giuffre' receives a guaranteed purchase of copies by some organization so that a printing subsidy is assured), there is very little discrimination between good and bad manuscripts and virtually no distribution beyond university libraries.[86] None of the major commercial publishing houses has an international affairs series or has in any way specialized in this area.

The publisher Il Mulino in Bologna is perhaps the most active and genuinely interested in international affairs. Its catalogue includes several translations of foreign works, some of which are part of a joint publishing venture with the International Affairs Institute in Rome (see page 278), which has, however, been discontinued. *Comunita'* also deserves some credit for including in its catalogue books on contemporary international issues. *Etas Kompass*, *Feltrinelli* and more recently *Angeli* are other publishers who have been relatively active in publishing on international affairs but none have done so systematically. On the whole, the overall picture is rather spotty and unbalanced. The recent increase in printing costs is not going to make things any better.

If the absence of good translations is so sorely felt, and if no publishing house has developed anything resembling a serious and systematic interest in international affairs, this is undoubtedly also due to the fact that the work produced by Italian scholars or experts in this area is not particularly impressive. The new generation of students of international relations may change all this, but very few names have emerged so far and we are still at a stage when one can talk of promises rather than accomplishments. The Stanley Hoffmans, Brzezinskis, Arons, Adam Ulams, Deutsches, or even, at another level, the Andre Fontaines, Karl Kaisers, Pierre Hassners, etc. have no counterparts in Italy, where the few authors who are nationally known belong to a rather traditional--history oriented and often pedantic, unimaginative--type of scholarship. This state of affairs has not helped to make international affairs popular among readers and publishers.

As for journals and periodicals, some of them perform a useful task as far as dissemination of information and bibliographies are concerned, but that is about all. A few of them are quite sophisticated, but on the whole even the best ones are closer to journalism than to scholarship. In the course of interviews with scholars I was struck by the almost unanimous lack of interest in these journals. "Useless," "boring" and "irrelevant" were the words most often used to describe them. This should not come as a surprise. What I said about the role of Italian international affairs institutes (see page 281) also applies to their publications. They are mainly a source of information for politicians, civil servants, journalists, businessmen--and to only a limited extent for scholars.

The main international affairs journals and periodicals presently published in Italy are: *Lo Spettatore Internazionale* (IAI), *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali* (published by the Political Science Department of Florence University), *Politica Internazionale* (IPALMO), *Relazioni Internazionali* (ISPI), *La Comunita' Internazionale* (SIOI). There is also *Affari Esteri*, which does its best (typographically more than in any other way) to emulate the American *Foreign Affairs*: it publishes translations of foreign articles and articles by Italian diplomats (who write under pen-names) as well as a bibliography. It is generally regarded as an unofficial but authoritative organ of the Ministry for External Affairs. A brief description of the other journals listed can be found in the section of this report dealing with international affairs institutes. The Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionale is the only one to go beyond the dissemination of information among politicians, journalists, etc. It mainly addresses itself to scholars. However, and for obvious reasons, this journal suffers from the same deficiencies that have prevented publication of more international affairs material elsewhere in Italy, namely the relative shortage of good translations and the relative underdevelopment of modern Italian scholarship in this area.

8. Libraries

Finally, a word on libraries. In the area of international studies, university libraries are not usually among the best. One of the most complete, and according to some, the best collection of books and periodicals (foreign and Italian) on international affairs, can be found at ISPI in Milan. ISPI's library includes the Albertini collection, regarded as the richest in Italy on the origins of World War I. Like SIOI's, ISPI is a depository library for UN, European Community and other international organizations' publications. Fairly good libraries can also be found at IAI and at the Political Science Department in Florence.

Italian public libraries are entitled to receive, free of charge, a copy of every single book published in Italy, and that naturally includes international affairs publications. But since the catalogues of Italian publishers are so poor in this respect, the public libraries do not have much to offer either. They are also usually too poor to make acquisitions abroad, and they probably lack motivation for large scale purchases abroad, as most scholars and students automatically go to places like SIOI or ISPI or IAI for material on international affairs. There is one library, in Rome, which probably has the most complete collection of foreign material available anywhere in Italy, that is the library of the Italian Parliament. It is the only library in the country with the financial resources (and the interest --because of needs it must serve) to buy foreign publications, both books and periodicals--and it does so systematically in all major economic, political and social fields, including international relations.

9. Funding and sponsoring agencies

There are five main sources of funding for international studies in Italy, namely the National Research Council (CNR), the government, private industrial firms, state-controlled economic firms or organizations, and foreign foundations.

Government funds are not usually allocated to specific research projects. The government normally provides general support for an institute[87] or for certain types of programs. This kind of support can take different forms: annual subsidies (which often cover a 3- or 5-year period) are more frequent than other types of support and absorb the bulk of the money. Other types of support include fellowships, travel and conferences. As a rule, the money comes from special appropriations in the budget of interested government departments; the largest contributions, as it may be expected, emanate from the budget of the Ministry for External Affairs,[88] but also from special agencies (as in the case of the support by the Cassa del Mezzogiorno to the European Institute in Reggio Calabria).

As a rule, government research money is channeled through the National Research Council, an independent body which allocates grants in committees according to the discipline and/or subject of the research proposal. The committee's members are academics elected by their peers. All the money spent by the CNR is government money (there are no other sources) and is allocated annually. The 1974 figures include 710 million lire (approximagely $1,120,000) for research, 140 million for fellowship programs of various sorts, and 10 million for other types of grants or subsidies. This represents a sharp reduction (the first reduction in many years) from the 1973 expenditures, which were over one billion lire for research and 200 million for fellowships.[89]

The above figures include funds for both the natural and the social sciences. However, by Italian standards they are not negligible; and at least as far as the social sciences are concerned, they do not appear to be inadequate. As I mentioned before (page 273) it is not unusual for a university department or institute to find itself at the end of the year in the position of having to shop around for ideas in order to spend end-of-year balances. One reason for this is that many Italian social scientists have not yet developed a grant-oriented mentality. Until recently (but this is changing) most of them did their research within the limits of their available facilities without thinking about financial support beyond their normal academic salaries.[90] (The same is not true of course, for natural scientists, where the cost of equipment and lab work could not be met on an individual basis; and perhaps, one should argue that it is also not true for "modern" social science research, especially where survey and computer costs are involved.) True, until 1964 the social sciences were not represented in the National Research Council and money went only to the natural sciences--this undoubtedly helps to explain why the average Italian social scientist has not yet learned the art of shopping around for grants.

As for Political Science and International Relations in particular, one can think of one additional and decisive reason for their apparent inability or even lack of interest in gaining access to whatever money may be available. They were born only yesterday and their first few years were devoted to solving organizational problems and to climbing the ladder of academic recognition. This they have now achieved to a large extent.[91]

If political scientists, and International Relations scholars in particular, have not been doing too well as "money getters," their more experienced colleagues, belonging to such traditional and well established disciplines as International Law, have not been very successful either. Grants approved by the CNR's Law and Politics Committee (Comitato Giuridico-Politico)[92] in 1969, 1970 and 1971 (there are no more recent figures available at the date of writing) show the following distribution:

Administrative Law	12.0	Million Lire
Commercial Law	62.9	
Constitutional Law	163.9	
International Law	212.2	
Labor Law	41.8	
Private Law	89.6	
Court Law	128.4	
Public Law	150.3	
Regional Law	64.0	
Roman Law	48.4	
Public Health Law	21.5	
Philosophy of Law	14.5	
History of Law	144.8	
Mediaeval History	12.0	
Modern History	36.0	
Contemporary History	158.2	
History of Political Thought	67.9	
History and Institutions of Afro-Asian Countries	26.6	
Anthropology	12.0	
Cybernetics	75.0	
Psychology	8.6	
Administrative Science	114.3	

Political Science	60.8 Million Lire
Sociology	114.1
Classical Philology	37.9
Total	1,878.0

A rather appalling list in many respects. Note the odd mixture of disciplines and subjects--all falling within the jurisdiction of the same committee, the predominance of legal subjects, the equally strong presence of History, the absence of International Relations (which, during the period covered by these statistics, was making its first appearance on the academic scene). By adding up all the items which, at least in theory, might include international studies research topics, one comes up with a total of 526 million out of a grand total of 1,878. But this figure is totally misleading. When one looks at the list of individual and institutional grants for the same period, one sees that research projects which can be labeled international studies even if only in the most general way, add up to a total of approximately 39 million lire (the bulk of it on problems of the European Community); while projects involving comparative research and non-Italian data total approximately 41 million. I doubt that more recent figures would show any substantial increase.

Indeed the contrary may well be true. Recent changes made in the CNR's grant making procedures have made access to research money even more difficult than before. Until about one year ago, the director of a research project and tenured professors were not allowed to receive any compensation under a project funded by CNR, while associate professors without tenure ("incaricati") and assistant professors could only be paid up to certain limits. As a result of a new regulation included in a set of "temporary" measures issued by governmental decree in October 1973[93] associate and assistant professors too, can no longer receive remuneration in any form, from a research project funded by the CNR or the Ministry of Education. (If they did, they would no longer be entitled to the special monthly allowance which was recently added to their regular salaries to encourage full-time teaching.)[94] It would be too long and complicated to explain all the details and the reasoning behind the new regulation. If the government's intent was to forbid double compensation, the logic of the new law is at best shaky if not altogether self-defeating; it certainly does little to break the old habit of moonlighting and non-university professional careers which most Italian university teachers have traditionally pursued.[95] It is hard to see how it will encourage professors to devote more of their time to independent, public sponsored research. The new law is likely to have the opposite effect. The new regulations might: 1) bring about a reduction of the total level of research activities funded by the CNR and the Ministry of Education and, 2) encourage a shift toward private sources of funding. In the natural sciences, for instance, it may mean that in a field like chemistry, the industry is likely to become the main sponsor and beneficiary of research done by university researchers (this really would amount to public funding for private industry). In any event, the new law, far from having a moralizing effect on university practices, will encourage scholars to create all sorts of devices to get around the rules. Already under the previous law the "research director" listed in a grant request was often only a figure-head; and the "real" director would get paid regularly under the research grant. The names of the "researchers" listed in an application were often those of friends and relatives of the "real" researchers (whenever the latter were tenured professors) so that these researchers too would get around the law and get their share of money. (I will hasten to add that such payments are seldom inflated or excessive, but represent fair compensation for the research activities performed under the grant. The moral justification of this practice is that regular academic salaries are normally not enough to permit a professor to devote his full time to teaching and research.)

Another practice which is often used is that of creating a private institute which would then become the recipient of the grant.[96] CNR rules do not apply to payments made by a private organization. This practice is not new. It was used long before the 1973 law whenever scholars wanted to conduct research and related activities unimpeded by university regulations or to receive grants from Italian and foreign foundations without channelling the money through the university bureaucracy.

The new law also has several other negative aspects, and has been unanimously criticized by Italian academics.[97] It could be argued that political scientists, including International Relations scholars, may take advantage of the new situation and try to absorb (within the CNR and the Ministry of Education's research money appropriations) whatever funds may become available as a result of uncertainties and confusion created by the new law (e.g. traditional "clients" may decide to look elsewhere for their money). However, at the present this is only a guess, and a wild one at that. Barely one year has gone by since the new law was passed. We will need at least another year or two before enough information is available for an accurate appraisal of its effects.

As for the other sources of money listed at the beginning of this section, private firms (e.g. FIAT and Olivetti) and state-controlled economic or industrial organizations (e.g. IRI, IMI, ENI, Montedison) do provide subsidies for some of the activities and organizations discussed in this report, although less to universities than to the international affairs institutes (SIOI, IAI, IPALMO, etc.). These subsidies usually take the form of annual contributions. They vary depending on the general state of Italian economy and cannot really be relied upon for long-term planning. In any event they do not represent a very large share of the total money available for international studies in Italy.

Finally, there are the private foundations. The fact that they are listed last is no coincidence. Their contribution to the field of international studies in Italy has been virtually nil--with the exception perhaps, of the Olivetti Foundation which contributed when the International Affairs Institute was set up. This was most valuable not just because of the money that the Foundation gave to the Institute (which was small), but rather because the Foundation lent credibility to the project by publicly backing it and rallying support for it. The Olivetti Foundation also deserves credit for its action aimed at "internationalizing" Italian social sciences, mainly by supporting COSPOS (see page 264). Apart from subsidizing occasional conferences (e.g. on regional policies in the European Community) the Olivetti Foundation has not been active in the field of international studies.

The Agnelli Foundation has not been particularly active in this field either. It has organized a few conferences dealing with European and Atlantic affairs, has made a modest grant to Max Kohnstamm's European Institute in Brussels, but that is about all.

One can think of several reasons for this apparent lack of interest in international studies among Italian foundations. First, the fact that all of them[98] are chiefly concerned with domestic affairs is explained by the history of these foundations; philanthropy is relatively new in Italy (at least "organized" philanthropy as embodied in foundations) and Adriano Olivetti and Giovanni Agnelli, two leading industrial tycoons of modern Italy, were eager, in the first place, to prove that they cared about the social and cultural well-being of the country--international affairs were quite marginal in this respect. Second, the income of all Italian foundations (including Agnelli) is very modest, not only by American standards, but also by comparison with other European foundations. The annual budget (inclusive of both research and management costs) of the Olivetti Foundation is approximately 200 million lire ($300,000) and that of the Agnelli Foundation was until recently, approximately $1.5 million, 2/3 of which was absorbed by management costs.[99] The Agnelli Foundation is presently being reorganized and both its staff and budget have been substantially cut. This does not necessarily mean that future research grants will be reduced, since the Foundation, which until now has also been an operating foundation, will in future be exclusively a grant-making organization. Together with a sharp reduction in management costs, this may lead to a modest increase rather than a reduction of the annual expenditures for research grants, in spite of a loss of income and an overall reduction of activity.

The CNR's Research Unit (Laboratorio di Studi sulla Ricerca e Documentazione) is completing a survey by questionnaire on how universities and institutes finance their research. The survey, which should also include 1973 data, will show a break-down by sources (public, private, national, foreign--including amounts, names of funding agencies, etc.) and should represent a major contribution to the better understanding of problems of social science research funding in Italy today.

10. The Outsiders--and some (tentative) conclusions

As was pointed out in the introductory remarks to this report, the term "international studies" cannot easily be applied to the situation in the Italian university system, where scholars are only now beginning to develop an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of international affairs and where the dividing line between traditional disciplines, like Law and History on one hand and modern Political Science on the other, are stronger than ever. Political scientists have only recently succeeded in establishing their credentials and their right to autonomy.

I do not wish to close this report without making a brief reference to activities in the area of cross-national research, which have not been discussed in this report[100] (as they cannot be catalogued as "international studies" if this term is interpreted in its proper sense). I am not talking about comparative research in general. What I have in mind are specific programs which, because of the high quality of the research they produce, and because they involve scholars from other countries, ought to be kept in mind by anyone looking for truly international centers of knowledge in Italy. There is such a center at the University of Florence, for instance--the Institute directed by Professor Mauro Cappelletti, concerned with problems of reform of systems of the administration of justice, is presently engaged in a research program with a team of scholars from Stanford. As part of the program, foreign scholars (from the United States, Western and Eastern Europe) spend considerable periods of time working at the Institute. Obviously, such a program would not normally be included in a report on international studies, and I only mention it here in passing. However, it seems to me that the existence of centers like Florence, with a strong international orientation and its multi-national research teams, can play a role--even outside its own academic jurisdiction--in a country like Italy which suffers from an acute shortage of expertise on foreign affairs and where collaborative efforts with foreign scholars are rare.

Furthermore, it is only fair to remember that some interesting work in international studies is not always easily identifiable (and I possibly did overlook some), simply because it exists at the fringe of the university system and is not part of the network of international affairs institutes. Thus they may lack visibility and only be known to a limited circle of experts. One of these is ISODARCO, offshoot of the Italian Pugwash group,[101] which every second year organizes a 2-week International Summer School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts. It is directed by Prof. Carlo Schaerf (a physicist who teaches at the University of Rome), who does this as an individual, virtually single-handed, because of his interest in arms control and disarmament problems. ISODARCO's summer school is virtually the only program worth mentioning in Italy in the area of arms control and conflict resolution. Student and faculty participation in the summer school is international, and the faculty is usually of very high caliber.[102]

There are also some individual scholars working in relative isolation (writing and doing research in their spare time, without CNR or other support, and not integrated in any particular program or institute)--they too may be overlooked on the international studies scene in Italy.[103] Finally, some good books on international affairs have been authored by journalists--just as in France, for instance, Michel Tatu can be regarded as one of the top French experts on Soviet affairs. In Italy, Arrigo Levi has written a comprehensive analysis of political power in the Soviet Union, and there are others.

Obviously, the importance of these isolated, individual efforts should not be exaggerated; these individuals are really outsiders, whose interest in international studies is often quite marginal to their main activities. Their impact on the development of international studies in Italy is probably minimal. In some instances, like ISODARCO, they are little more than a drop of water in the desert --but at the same time that is precisely what makes them important: in their own field (like ISODARCO in the field of arms control and conflict resolution studies) they may be the only worthy thing in Italy, making them the only point of contact between Italian and foreign scholars.

I would like to end this report on a slightly less gloomy note. It can hardly be denied that international studies in Italy are underdeveloped, to say the least. Yet, one must also keep in mind the general state of affairs in the Italian university system--a state of affairs which would normally discourage scholars from doing more than the bare minimum required to earn their salaries. But Italian scholars, like many of their fellow countrymen in other walks of life, have learnt the art of dealing with inept bureaucracies. In the natural sciences, doing research is like running in a steeplechase with hurdles twice as big as the horse you ride and where the danger of losing the horse in mid-course must be considered a real possibility. The CNR grants are always made on an annual basis and although there is a tacit understanding that they will be renewed[104] nobody can be 100 per cent sure that it will be so. Researchers may get the money they need to buy their lab equipment, but they may end up by never buying it if they were to stick to regulations. Somehow they find their way through and around all the red tape, and the research gets done. It is a constant struggle against odds, diverting talent, energy and time from the real job. And yet, Italian researchers manage to keep their cool and to carry on as cheerfully as is humanly possible and occasionally even make it to a Nobel prize. Social scientists, of course, are better off; their problems are simpler. But they have problems nonetheless. Some of these problems, e.g. those raised by the 1973 law on payments of research money under CNR grants, were discussed in other sections of this report. Another is that of the delay with which payments are made --it is normal for the first payment to be made several months after grant approval and after research has actually started.[105]

Perhaps the most positive factor, in the midst of the still unresolved crisis which has been plaguing the Italian university system for well over a decade, is the presence of so many serious scholars deeply committed to the cause of university reform. As I already pointed out, the reform of Political Science teaching would never have happened had it not been for the vigorous and patient action of a group of such scholars who met regularly to discuss reform projects, managed to enroll the active support of the heads of some of the most prestigious universities and lobbied in Rome, among members of the legislative bodies and key officials at the Ministry of Education. While it is true, therefore, that at least in certain disciplines, the total research output, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms, has not been very high, it is also possible to argue that in order to do research scholars had first to create an adequate research environment. What has been happening since 1968 in Political Science departments shows that progress, however slow and difficult, is possible. Italian social sciences are undergoing a modernization process (modernization being synonymous, in some respects, with internationalization) which is bound to take a number of years, but is happening nonetheless. This report represents a picture of Italian social sciences, and of international studies in particular, as they are today, at a transitional stage in the process of growth and transformation of the Italian university system--a stage where one finds next to each other both the inadequacies and the mistakes of the past and the first signs of a much needed renewal.

11. List of institutes mentioned in the report

SIOI
Società Italiana per l'Organizzazione Internazionale
Palazzo di Venezia - Via San Marco, 3 - 00187 Roma
Presidente: Prof. Roberto AGO
Direttore: Franco CASADIO

IAI
Istituto Affari Internazionali
Viale Mazzini, 88 - 00195 Roma
Presidente: Altiero SPINELLI
Direttore: Prof. Cesare MERLINI

ISPI
Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale
Via Clerici, 5 - 20121 Milano
Presidente. Dino DEL BO
Direttore: Giovanni LOVISETTI

IPALMO
Istituto per le relazioni fra l'Italia e i paesi dell'Africa, America latina e Medio Oriente
Via del Tritone, 62/b - 00187 Roma
Presidente: On.le Franco M. MALFATTI
Direttore: Prof. Giampaolo CALCHI NOVATI

IILA
Istituto Italo Latino-Americano
Piazza G. Marconi, 1 - 00144 Roma
Direttore: Amb. Vincenzo TORNETTA

IIA
Istituto Italo-Africano
Via U. Aldrovandi, 16 - 00197 Roma
Segretario Generale: Amb. Paolo CALLARICO

IPO
Istituto per l'Oriente
Via Alberto Caroncini, 19 - 00197 Roma
Presidente: Prof. Francesco GABRIELI
Direttore Scientifico: Prof. Paolo MINGANTI

Centro Studi Terzo Mondo
Via G.B. Morgagni 39 - 20129 Milano
Presidente: Umberto MELOTTI

ISIG Istituto di Sociologia Internazionale di Gorizia
Via Malta, 2 - 34170 Gorizia
Direttore: Prof. Raimondo STRASSOLDO

Scuola di Perfezionamento in Studi Europei
Piazza Cairoli, 3 - 00186 Roma
Direttore: Francesco PARRILLO

Centro Studi sulle Comunità Europee
(Facoltà degli Studi di Pavia)
Palazzo Centrale - Cortile dei Caduti - Corso Strada Nuova, 65 - 27100 Pavia
Direttore: Prof. Angelo GRISOLI

IUSE Istituto Universitario di Studi Europei
Corso Vittorio Emanuele, 83 - 10128 Torino
Presidente: Ing. Giovanni PORCELLANA
Direttore: Prof. Silvio ROMANO

Scuola di Specializzazione di Diritto ed Economia
(Facoltà di Giurisprudenza - Segreteria)
Università di Parma
Via Università, 12 - 43100 Parma
Direttore: Prof. Giancarlo VENTURINI

ISESP Istituto Superiore Europeo di Studi Politici
Via Torrione, 101/F - 89100 Reggio Calabria
Direttore: Prof. Antonio PAPISCA

Notes

1. It is not based on a systematic collection of data. The use of questionnaires would not have proved particularly useful, in view of the large number of universities and institutes involved and the nature of some of the questions I intended to raise--not to mention that the response to a questionnaire would have been low anyway. Most of the information in this report is based on interviews. I interviewed approximately 30 individuals: teachers, researchers, staff of international affairs institutes and other relevant organizations, staff of the National Research Council and other funding agencies, government officials (at the Ministries of External Affairs and of Education). Statistical data are few and in most instances out of date. Therefore, I made only limited use of them. I have relied on data provided by university yearbooks, annual reports of international affairs institutes and, occasionally, articles. However, I have been able to double-check only part of this material.

2. The total number of state universities in Italy is approximately 30. Then there are private universities (e.g. the Catholic University of Milan) whose degrees are recognized by the State, and countless (exact figures are not available) other private universities, some of which may offer only two or three courses depending on circumstances and on the needs of the area in which they are based.

3. The reform of the Italian university system calls for the creation of interdisciplinary "departments" (dipartimenti). However, the reform has not yet been implemented, except in a very few cases following special legislation (as, for instance, for the creation of the new university of Cosenza in Southern Italy) or in some universities on an experimental basis. However, in this report the term "department" is used as a translation of the Italian "facolta" ("facultè" in French), to avoid possible confusion with the American term "faculty."

4. The conditions in the Italian universities are, at least in part, responsible for this. Large universities are overcrowded. Smaller universities, especially if they are not in one of the main cities, often hire (for reasons of prestige and/or to help them to attract other good people) good teachers whose main academic activities are elsewhere, and who only devote a limited amount of their time to students in these universities.

5. The reason for excluding them is purely adminstrative, and not substantive. The Ford Foundation, which commissioned this report, published a thorough survey of American studies in 1968. A survey of Soviet and East European studies is presently being conducted by Foundation staff. As for international economics, a Foundation research program dealing with monetary and trade affairs and other issues related to the future of the international economic order was started in 1973 and should yield useful world-wide data on research in this area.

6. See Section 5 of this report.

7. The problem of overlap or just plain duplication between the two departments will be discussed in the following pages.

8. Including among others Professors Miglio, Maranini, Firpo, Andreatta, Sartori, Ardigo, Spreafico. The first two were the authors of the project which eventually formed the basis for the ill-fated 1965 bill. (See page 266). An important and virtually clandestine role was also played by a small group of people at the Ministry for Education.

9. COSPOS was set up in 1965 with a grant from the Ford Foundation. The major accomplishment of COSPOS has been the creation of four institutes for graduate studies, the first of their kind in Italy (the Agricultural Institute in Porticim, Naples, interestingly enough, was also set up with a Ford grant): the

four institutes are in Ancona (economics), Turin (political science), Milan (sociology), and Catania (formerly Naples) (development studies). COSPOS has also played a most valuable role in creating a network of modern Italian social scientists and in disseminating information and literature. They also publish a journal.

10. It is no coincidence that the student unrest in 1967-69 centered on the one-year-old Department of Sociology in Trento. Formerly (from 1962) Istituto di Scienze Sociali, in 1967 it was turned into the Department (Falcoltà) of Sociology of the newly created (also in 1967) University of Trento.

11. The degree ("Dottorato") could be obtained after a minimum of 4 years of study involving 21 oral exams, and the discussion of a written dissertation. The average age of entry into the university in Italy is 18-19, following 5 years of "Liceo" (in France *Lycèe*).

12. The organization of the Istituto "Cesare Alfieri" of Florence inspired the authors of the 1968 reform.

13. Curricula were determined by law, were the same for all universities (except Florence), and left little or no margin for innovation and modernization.

14. A good historical account and critical analysis of Political Science Departments in the Italian university system was written by Prof. Luigi Firpo, and was published as an introduction to the 1974 Yearbook of Political Science (Bulzoni Editore).

15. Corporativism (corporativismo) was the Fascist doctrine which called for a social contract based on the association of employers and workers as an organ of political representation.

16. G. Evangelisti, A. Marradi, *La Facoltà di Scienze politiche*, in COMITATO DI STUDIO DE I PROBLEMI DELL'UNIVERSITA ITALIANA, vol. II, p. 91 (Bologna, 1967).

17. Parliament had approved and voted amendments on several sections of the bill, but failed to call a final vote on the project as a whole. A new bill, if submitted, would have had to go through the whole process again, beginning from the Council of Education and the various parliamentary committees, all the way up.

18. The Government felt it could do this because of the urgency of the problem and because of the consensus which had developed in the country and in Parliament on several important aspects of the 1965 bill. Decrees must be converted into law (by a Parliamentary vote) within 60 days.

19. In Italian: a) Politico-Administrativo, b) Politico-Economico, c) Politico-Internazionale, d) Politico-sociale, e) Storico-politico.

20. Obviously only if the subject has not been included under 2).

21. All the courses in category A are within the Law Department.

22. At the Economics Department.

23. The dividing line between some of these subjects is not always clear, at least on paper. However, one should keep in mind that the titles listed are the courses taught in the Department--and some overlapping is both natural and unavoidable.

24. Due to its special status, dating back to 1944, the Department of Political Science ("Istituto Cesare Alfieri") of the University of Florence can offer a longer series of statistics. On the other hand, because the Florence case is unique, its results should not be generalized.

25. Pasquale Scaramozzino: *L'Espansione della Facoltà: Sintesi Statistica*, p. 77, in "Annuario delle Facolta di Scienze Politiche," Bulzoni Editore, 1974.

26. *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

27. From a practical point of view, this would make a difference of one year in the total period invested in university studies, not counting the dissertation. However, this factor should not be over-estimated. Usually, students who enrol in the Economics departments are motivated by their specific interest in economics; and for professional outlets a Political Science degree is not a good substitute for a degree in Economics.

28. They are Torino, Genova, Milano, Milano Cattolica, Pavia, Padova, Trieste, Bologna, Firenze, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Urbino, Camerno, Macerata, Roma, Roma Pro Deo, Teramo, Napoli, Bari, Palermo, Messina, Catania, Cagliari, Sassari.

29. That is in 22 out of the 23 existing programs which have already implemented the 1968 decree. The only exception is Turin.

30. 1973-74 Yearbook of the Department of Political Science of the University of Florence, p. 4. These data are for the academic year 1972-73. All other data used in this report are for 1971-72; more recent, nation-wide data are not yet available.

31. It would be too long to explain here the complicated machinery (based on national competitions) which in Italy regulates appointments to university chairs. A professor with tenure has the title of "Professore ordinario," while the position of "Professore incaricato" corresponds approximately to that of associate professor without tenure in the United States.

32. Both have studied in the United States and are close to American academic thinking.

33. However, this is not so much a conflict of generations (old scholars against young ones) as a battle fought by the entrenched forces, old and young, of different disciplines. Thus, the following remarks were made to me by a young professor of Diplomatic History. His remarks were triggered by something I said about the "new" international relations scholars. "Never heard of . . . *who*?

Well, anyway, their time is over. As for the other one you mentioned, he has made a big fuss about these "new" approaches to international relations in an introduction he wrote to a book by a certain Karl Deutsch. I don't know how good a political scientist Deutsch is, but he certainly does not know history. These people have discovered game theories and think they can apply them to human behavior in international affairs. . . . That era is over, it was over when McNamara failed to prove that his computer type approach could work. . . ." "What are they, after all? Basically, they are translators. They were the first ones to put their hands on a certain type of foreign literature and sold it in Italy. . . ."

34. For instance, since Professor Bonante was appointed student enrolment in the International Relations course rose from 50 to 200.

35. I have been unable to come up with a satisfactory answer of why this is so. Is it because of bureaucracy and red tape? Or is it because scholars in Italian universities are not yet really "Foundation minded" the way their colleagues in other countries are, and often don't bother applying for grants when others in their place would? (This explanation is less extravagant than one might think at first sight.) Or is it because research money has been growing at a faster pace than research habits and/or than the ability of planning research of high enough standards to meet the National Research Council's requirements?

36. It must be kept in mind that the university career is a State-controlled public career. Decisions concerning tenure do not rest with the universities, but are based on nation-wide competition.

37. The absolute, nation-wide figures for 1972 were: Law, 498; Economics, 368; Political Science, 132; the last two figures include chairs which are held by Law professors. L. Firpo, op. cit., p. 55.

38. As I pointed out at the beginning, the term "department" has been used in this report only as a translation of the Italian term facolta--not to be confused with dipartimenti described in the 1969 reform bill, modelled on the departments existing in Anglo-Saxon universities.

39. They are not listed here in order of importance.

40. The list of lecturers in 1972 included the Secretary General of the European Community, U.N. General Secretary Kurt Waldheim, the former President of Argentina, Mr. Frondizi, Aurelio Peccei of the Club of Rome, several foreign ambassadors to Italy and Italian and foreign politicians. Scholars were in the minority.

41. In 1972, for instance, SIOI held a 3-day seminar on nongovernmental organizations with the participation of about 40 NGOs,

UNITAR, UNDP, UNICEF, OMS, FAO, UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Participants also included foundation representatives (Agnelli, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Humanum) and foreign scholars (Professors C. S. Asher of New York, C. Alger of Ohio State, J. Galtung of the International Peace Institute in Oslo, and others).

42. The Diplomatic Institute was set up in 1968 by the Ministry for External Affairs to organize post-graduate courses for candidates to the Italian Foreign Service. This was done by creating a network of associated universities and institutes where the courses are offered and among which the candidates can choose. The Diplomatic Institute itself only runs occasional conferences. However, the Institute is now considering moving to new headquarters in Northern Italy (presently it is based in Rome) where in-residence courses might be offered.

43. SIOI's director, Dr. Casadio, devotes some of his time to research and is the author os some of the studies published by the Society.

44. One of these working groups was set up recently under the chairmanship of Professor Ago of the University of Rome (where Prof. Ago teaches International Law) to study Italy's contribution to international organization. This project, funded by the National Research Council, involves the collection of data and information on Italian diplomacy vis-à-vis international law and organization since 1861.

45. The language courses are organized jointly with such institutes as the Goethe Institute, the British Council, the Centre Francais de Documentation.

46. ISPI's program emphasizes the "diplomacy of large business enterprises" as one of the main factors of contemporary international relations.

47. Most of these trainees end up by working as research assistants to ISPI's staff.

48. It also received financial support from FIAT, the Olivetti Foundation, and other private sources. An annual contribution from the Italian Government is under consideration but has not yet been approved. Its total annual income is approximately 100 million lire ($153,000), substantially less than that of SIOI and ISPI.

49. He was appointed member of the European Community's Commission in 1970. He was replaced at I. A. I. by Prof. Merlini, also a member of the Federalist Movement.

50. Perhaps it is worth noting that Spinelli conceived his project approximately at the same time as the Italian Socialist Party sealed its alliance with the Christian Democrats giving birth to the first center-left (centrosinistra) government in Italy. Although not a member of the Socialist Party, Spinelli's working relationship with

that party was quite intense throughout the sixties. He was the chief international adviser to Socialist leader Pietro Nenni and it was the Socialist Party that nominated him for the post of European Commissioner.

51. Spinelli took two of the best young staff members of IAI to Brussels, and in so doing undoubtedly weakened IAI.

52. In 1967 IAI published a 3-volume study of Italian foreign policy. In 1973 the Institute published the first volume of a Yearbook on Italian foreign policy. The Yearbook is expected to become a regular item on IAI's annual list of publications.

53. An average of three occasional papers and six books per year.

54. However, translations do not reflect a clear policy concerning the choice of topics and authors. Recent titles include Max Kohnstamm and W. Hager's study of the European Community's external relations, Karl Kaiser's book on trans-Atlantic relations, a collection of essays on the economic system of Eastern Europe, and several essays by African authors. IAI also publishes an Italian version of the annual strategic review of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

55. This is less than IAI. However, IAI's researchers (with the only exception of Silvestri) are young and joined IAI shortly after graduating (so that in many respects their work at IAI can be regarded as post-graduate training), while all IPALMO researchers are senior people.

56. Thus for instance, both the President of IPALMO, Mr. Franco Maria Malfatti, a leading Christian Democrat politician (Minister for Education in the present government) and IPALMO's Director Mr. Calchi Novati, a Communist, participated in the meeting with Samora Machel and other leaders of FRELIMO (the Liberation Front of Mozambique), which took place at the Institute in April 1973.

57. One might wonder why the Far East was not included in the name and among the areas of interest of IPALMO. The explanation is emblematic of the problems which confront the marriage between Christian Democrats and Communists as embodied in the Institute. IPALMO was set up in 1971, but discussions leading to its creation had been taking place for at least two years prior to that. Had the Far East been included the Communists could hardly have ignored the Vietnam war, an issue which was likely to embarrass the Christian Democrats. As a result, the Far East became the only region of the world not to be included among the areas of interest to the Institute.

58. Visitors included, among others, a team from Algeria's National Economic and Social Council, a delegation representing

311

various groups of the exile Chilean Left, the chairman of the Party of Congress for the Independence of Madagascar, a delegation representing the Assembly of the Federation of Arab Republics led by the Assembly's President, etc. In 1973, the President of IPALMO was in Cairo, and IPALMO's Director travelled to Senegal, Somaliland, Addis Ababa (for the Conference of the Organization of a United Africa) and to Algiers (for the Conference of the non-aligned countries). In January 1974 a large team including members of the Institute's staff and consultants visited Iraq.

59. Area studies and European studies are discussed in the next two sections of this report; institutes in these two fields also broadly belong to the family of international affairs institutions.

60. But only occasionally. ISIG's list of close to 30 studies done since the Institute was created in 1968 includes only two "general" international affairs titles ("Theory of International Relations," and "Research on Peace and Conflict").

61. What happens instead is that the majority of university professors maintain their private professional activities. Thus for instance a law professor would teach law and at the same time work and earn money as a lawyer--a phenomenon which further limits their potential availability to serve in the government or in a public capacity.

62. There are several members of government, for instance, who are also university professors and have not given up teaching in spite of their official functions. However, they can hardly be said to serve as a link between the university and government. Each of them is essentially and above all a politician. His teaching is in most cases perfunctory--it adds to his prestige and provides an additional forum from which he can address his constituency.

63. And of most other institutes and organizations in Italy.

64. A substantial share of IAI's income (and this applies also to most other institutes), and especially the contributions from private firms (like FIAT and Olivetti) and State-controlled enterprises (like ENI, IRI), is granted on an annual basis. The institute was set up at a time when Italian economy was booming; while in recent years as a result of the general economic slump money has become much tighter. Furthermore, inflation has inflated management and research costs. The increase in price of paper and printing has hurt IAI's publication program. Again, this is true also for other institutes.

65. Governmental subsidies are at present allocated on an ad hoc basis and must be approved by the Italian Parliament. Hence, to apply for a subsidy an institute needs a politician willing to sponsor a bill (this is easily done); secondly, it needs a majority in the various parliamentary committees which must approve the bill (this

is less easily done) and, thirdly, it needs a good deal of patience and lots of luck--for a bill to sail unharmed through all the red tape and political maneuvering can be especially difficult in periods of frequent governmental crisis (if the legislature ends before the bill is approved you have to start all over again).

66. It is also a particularly striking one, since one would normally expect a higher degree of interest in Latin American affairs as a result of the large flow of Italian immigrants to Latin American countries, especially Argentina.

67. One Italian lira for every five inhabitants is the contribution by each country, making IILA the wealthiest of all international institutes in Italy!

68. One should mention that IILA's library includes a good collection of Latin-American journals.

69. Much of what follows is extracted from Africanist Studies in Italy by Roberto Aliboni, published in "African Affairs" of the Royal African Society, Vol. 69, No. 275, April 1970.

70. The course is taught in 25 universities. Other courses taught in Italian universities include: History of Contemporary Africa, History and Institutions of Africa, History and Institutions of Mediterranean Africa and Asia, History and Institutions of Mediterranean Africa and the Middle East, History of the Middle East, History of the Near East and the Middle East, History of the Arabs, History and Institutions of Islam, History of Islam, History and Muslim Institutions, History and Economic Institutions of Africa and Asia, History and Institutions of Asia, etc. However, their titles are often more impressive than their content.

71. Again, I must point out that literature and language, where the best Italian area experts can be found (e.g. Fosco Maraini, who is one of the world's top experts on Japan), are not included in this report.

72. In all fairness, I should add that I did not look into these courses in any detail.

73. Topics listed in a recent publication describing the Center's "research" interests included: a) structural causes of underdevelopment, b) study of a non-"Eurocentric" model for development, c) the interaction between development and international politics, as well as, d) the revolutionary process in Cuba, e) the cultural revolution in China, and, f) racism in Italian culture. The Center also used to publish "Archives for Vietnam," now discontinued. Its publication list includes the following occasional papers: "Revolution and Society," "Sociology of Hunger," "Madagascar, the Red Island," "Marx and the Third World," "Marcuse and the Third World."

74. Robert Aliboni, op. cit.

75. Anna Maria Gentili.

76. These views are basically correct;but one could argue that they still reflect the situation of four or five years ago, before the developments (see Section 4 of this report) in the teaching of Political Science and International Relations in Italian universities were set in motion by the 1968 governmental decree.

77. I hasten to add that many young scholars would disagree with this judgment and would argue that this is the only way in which development studies can be taught in a modern university.

78. Possibly from some of those listed in Section 4, such as IAI (for Mediterranean problems, for example) and IPALMO.

79. In most cases the term "institute" has been used in this report for institutes outside the university system.

80. Although it is possible to argue that European studies have also suffered from their heterogeneity creating confusion as to their academic identity and organization--both within and without the university system.

81. In the Political Science department of the university of Turin it is a compulsory subject in the "indirizzo" politico-internazionale (see page 268). Community Law is also taught in the Catholic University of Milan and in Padova, Palermo, Bari, Bologna, Milan, Roma Pro Deo, Genova, Catania, Messina, Perugia.

82. Some Italian universities offer also courses on Economic International Organization (e.g. at the Political Science departments of the universities of Catania, Pavia, Bologna, Padova and Milano).

83. The European Community Institute for European Studies, in Brussels, used to publish periodically a comprehensive catalogue of European Studies programs in Italy and other member countries of the Community, but the publication has been discontinued.

84. See page 294.

85. The program also includes short visits to the headquarters of the European Community in Brussels and to other international organizations in the course of which students participate in seminars chaired by members of the staff of these organizations.

86. Nonetheless Giuffre' cannot be entirely disregarded. It has published some good studies which would have never made it in the commercial market; it has provided an outlet (a decompression chamber) for the work of many scholars. In Italy the demand to "publish or perish" is not as imperative as in other countries, but publications remain an important factor in academic careers.

87. These are usually non-university institutes. (There are exceptions, c.f. the Institute in Parma mentioned in Section 6 of this report.) The bulk of government support for universities is channeled through the CNR.

88. Approximately 350 million lire a year. This figure does not include fellowship money.

3 : 1

89. However, some money may have been reallocated to the Council before the end of 1975 as a result of budgetary readjustments (especially the availability of carry-overs and unspent balances of various sorts), so that eventually 1974 expenditures may come close to the 1973 level.

90. In countries like the United States, where the "grant oriented mentality" is highly developed one runs into the other extreme--some academics feel perfectly at east in applying to a foundation for money to allow them to develop a research proposal (subsequently submitted to the same or to other foundations) at no personal cost whatsoever.

91. Although, as already mentioned, political scientists have not been elected to any of the CNR committees.

92. The one to which research proposals in the field of international studies would normally be submitted.

93. Governmental decree of October 1, 1973, Misure urgenti per l'Università (converted into law on November 30 of the same year). The new measures were taken in the absence of the long awaited for overall university reform law. Therefore, in principle, they had an interim nature. But on the other hand, they are also the kind of "temporary" measures which, because they make substantial changes with respect to the pre-existing situation, are likely to have quite deep and long-term effects. The October 1973 decree created 7,500 new tenured teaching positions. As a result, the majority of Italian professors today who are still only "incaricati" will receive tenure; on the other hand, the new law is silent on the problem of additional non-tenured positions, while the upper limit fixed under the previous law is clearly inadequate to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding university. Another consequence is likely to be a relative aging of Italian university teaching personnel. Most of the "incaricati" who will receive tenure under the new law will be in their early forties when this will eventually happen (the 7,500 will be appointed on the basis of a nation-wide competition), and subsequent, new appointments of younger people (as "incaricati") will be relatively few.

94. $210 for the "ordinari" and $115 for the "incaricati."

95. Initially one of the causes for this practice were the relatively low salaries paid to professors.

96. All it takes to set up an association ("associazione di fatto") in Italy is for five or more individuals to meet in the office of a public notary to sign the statute of the organization they intend to create. The statute must then be registered. By law the statute must meet certain requirements (concerning procedures for the periodical meetings of members, the election of the board and officers of the organization, etc.) The associazione is not entitled to

tax exemption or other advantages. However, it should be noted that although ISPI is legally a private association, the government (the Ministry of the Treasury and the Ministry for External Affairs) appoints two of the five members of the Institute's Comptrollers Committee.

97. A good description and critical analysis of the implications of the new law (as well as some background information on the sequence of events which led to it can be found in Le "misure urgenti per l'Università," by Corrado Pecorella, in "Aggiornamenti Sociali," April 1974.

98. This is true also for Cini, which with Agnelli and Olivetti, represents the three leading Italian foundations.

99. The Ford Foundation alone has spent more for the development of Italian social sciences (and international studies) than all Italian foundations taken together.

100. European studies do of course include comparative research. They are concerned, among other things, with the common policies of the European Community, in areas such as agriculture, social security, labor, etc. One cannot discuss a European common policy in a particular area without first studying and comparing national policies in that area.

101. ISODARCO is an "associazione di fatto" but is not physically organized as an institute and has no permanent staff. Its headquarters are at Prof. Schaerf's office at the Department of Physics, Rome University. The chairman of ISODARCO is Prof. Amaldi, one of Italy's leading physicists.

102. Participants in the ISODARCO summer schools have included Tom Schelling, Hans Morgenthau, Albert Wohlstetter, Johan Holst, Allan Dowty, Vasily Emelyanov, Herbert York, Jack Ruina, Bernard Feld, Frank Barnaby, Michael Nicholson, Pierre Hassner and many others.

103. As an example of this type of scholar I can think of Giuseppe Mammarella of the University of Florence and of the University of Stanford in Italy (Florence).

104. All grant applications to the CNR must specify the duration of the project for which support is being sought.

105. It is not unusual for scholars to cover the costs of their ongoing research with funds paid under grants made for previous (and already completed) research projects.